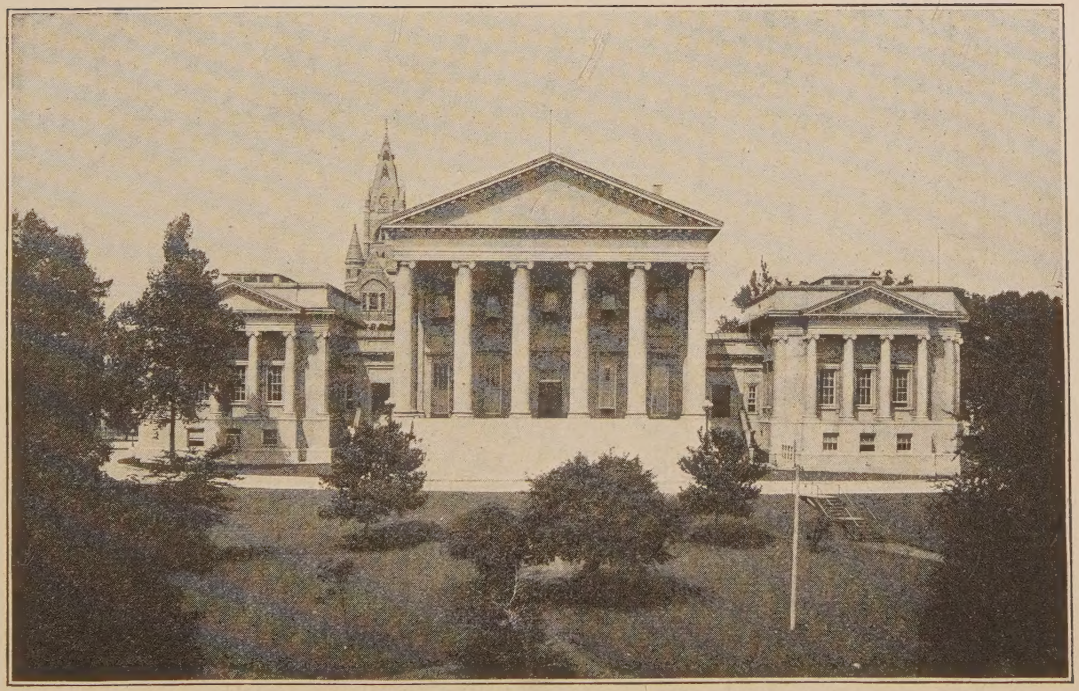
GOVERNMENT and POLITICS in VIRGINIA

McBAIN

Lela Bowman.



THE CAPITOL OF VIRGINIA

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN VIRGINIA

BY

HOWARD LEE McBAIN, PH. D.

Associate Professor of Municipal Science and Administration in Columbia University

---

ILLUSTRATED

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

THE BELL BOOK AND STATIONERY COMPANY

1918

Copyright, 1916
By Howard Lee McBain

FOREWORD

Regrettable as the fact is, a large majority of children in the United States go out into active life before they reach the high school. Since this is true, and since ours is a government which the people themselves must operate, it seems manifestly desirable that some time should be given in the elementary schools to a consideration of the activities of the government. This book has been written for the pupils of the elementary schools.

Government in the United States is exceedingly complicated in organization. It is not to be expected that children will find interest in, or be able to understand, all of its intricate details. The fundamental principles of its organization are not, however, beyond their understanding; and, if properly presented to them, there is no reason why the functional activities of the government should not enlist their keen interest. It is perhaps not of vital importance that the child in school should be able to memorize the titles, the powers, and the duties of the innumerable officers who carry on the work of the government. It seems axiomatic, however, that in the school itself—and especially in the school which the government provides—a very determined effort should be made to relate the child to the government, to make him see its necessity and its purpose, to make him understand that, far from being a thing apart from his own life, the government is actually a part of him and he a part

of it. This can be accomplished only by showing the child the government in action and by emphasizing the *personal* benefits which *he* enjoys by reason of its existence. After his interest has been awakened in this way, he will naturally find greater interest in a study of the principles which underlie the organization of the government and will be more eager to learn something about the powers and duties of the more important officers. The prime purpose in this book is to arouse an intelligent interest. With this end in view the functional activities of the state and local governments are discussed before any attention is given to the matter of governmental organization. The same plan precisely is followed in the treatment of the national government.

It is entirely natural that the child will be more interested in those activities of the government which he himself has the opportunity to observe. Many of these he has probably never connected with the government at all. It seems highly appropriate, therefore, that an elementary study of this important subject should begin with a description of the functions of local and state governments and should proceed from this to a consideration of the national government. This is the plan of presentation which is followed in this book. It seems further proper, in an elementary study such as this is, that the attention of the child should be directed especially to the government of his own state and his own local community. There are large differences in the governments of the several states of the Union, as well as in the local units of government that are established in these states. It is practically impossible to give the child any satisfactory and adequate conception of actual conditions, if the governments

of all the states are to be surveyed and the treatment made comparative. This book deals, therefore, with government as it is found in Virginia. There is only occasional reference to other states.

Each chapter is followed by a series of questions that may be used as a basis for class exercises. For the most part these questions are not founded upon the subject matter of the text; they are offered simply as suggestions to stimulate class interest and discussion. Perhaps the teacher herself will in some instances be unable to answer them. The teacher should encourage the pupils to consult their parents and others in the community who may be able to enlighten them in respect to these and other similar questions. In this way, it is believed, will the entire study be localized and vitalized.

Every teacher will doubtless wish to expand her knowledge of this important subject beyond the somewhat elementary facts contained in this book. Material for a more detailed study of the government of Virginia is not readily available. The only general work on this subject is Dr. F. A. Magruder's *Recent Administration in Virginia*. This monograph, published in 1912 by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, contains an exceedingly interesting survey of the origin and development of the several administrative departments of the state government. The work of each of these departments is also described in some detail in their annual printed reports, copies of which may usually be secured by written application to the respective departments at Richmond. The state constitution and the laws enacted by the General Assembly are compiled in what is known as *The Code of Vir-*

ginia, and its several *Supplements*. These volumes may be consulted in the office of any lawyer.

By far the best work dealing with the whole subject of national, state, and local government in the United States is Beard's *American Government and Politics*, published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Young's *The New American Government and Its Work*, published by the same company, may also be recommended. Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, in two volumes, completely revised in 1910, is still a standard work on American government. This work also is published by the Macmillan Company and there is an abridged edition of it in a single volume. Numerous other general works on American government might be mentioned and there are, of course, many volumes dealing in more detail with specific aspects or divisions of the government. It seems unnecessary, however, to present here anything like an elaborate bibliography.

HOWARD LEE MCBAIN.

New York City,
April, 1916.

CONTENTS

FIRST PART

POWERS AND DUTIES OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	The Need for Government	1
II.	The Life and Liberty of the People	10
III.	The Life and Liberty of Persons Accused of Crime	19
IV.	The Health of the People	23
V.	The Property of the People	30
VI.	The Farms of the People	38
VII.	The Schools of the People	43
VIII.	The Roads, Streets, and Parks of the People	56

SECOND PART

ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

IX.	The Constitution of the State	68
X.	The Votes of the People	73
XI.	Political Parties	81
XII.	The State Legislature	86

CHAPTER PAGE
XIII. THE EXECUTION OF THE LAWS 93
XIV. THE STATE COURTS 104
XV. THE GOVERNMENT OF COUNTIES 111
XVI. THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES 118
XVII. STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION 127

THIRD PART

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

XVIII. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE .. 135
XIX. COMMERCE, FINANCE, AND INDUSTRIES 145

FOURTH PART

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

XX. THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION 157
XXI. THE SUPREMACY OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION 167
XXII. CONGRESS 175
XXIII. THE EXECUTION OF NATIONAL LAWS 185
XXIV. THE NATIONAL COURTS 200
XXV. NATIONAL TAXATION 208
XXVI. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CITIZEN 215
INDEX 223

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN VIRGINIA

FIRST PART

POWERS AND DUTIES OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

CHAPTER I

THE NEED FOR GOVERNMENT

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND. The Commonwealth of Virginia covers an area of more than forty thousand square miles. Residing upon this area are more than two million people. If the territory of the State were divided equally among all the people, every man, woman, and child would have about twelve acres of land for himself. If such a division were made, each of us might choose to live absolutely alone upon his own twelve acres and have little or nothing to do with his neighbors. Think what this would mean. Every individual would have to provide shelter for himself and all of his own food and clothing. How unhappy and how unsatisfactory our lives would be.

Now, as everybody knows, people do not live in any such absurd fashion as this. Most of us live with our families, and all of us have friends and acquaintances with whom we mingle.

In other words, people do not live separately but in groups. And there are many reasons why they live in this way.

THE FAMILY GROUP. It seems unnecessary to point out the various reasons why people live in family groups. Certainly one important reason is that during all the earlier years of their lives children are unable to provide for themselves. It is necessary that their parents should care for them; and this necessity, among other things, holds the family group together. It seems also unnecessary to discuss the numerous advantages which we enjoy because we live in these family groups. So many are these advantages and so strong are the ties of affection between the members of the family that, even after children are able to support themselves, they more often than not continue to live in the family group until they are ready to establish families of their own. The family is indeed the smallest of all the groups in which people live, but in many ways it is also the most important of all groups.

THE COMMUNITY GROUP. Of course every family usually lives by itself to a certain extent. But families also associate with one another and form larger groups. Even when families live on farms and are thus separated by considerable distances, they nevertheless have many interests in common. They make, for example, common use of the roads, the churches, the schools, the post offices. They form, in other words, a community group. Nearly three-fourths of the people of Virginia live in farming communities of this kind.

The people who live in cities and villages naturally live much closer together than the people of farming communities. Naturally also they have a larger number of interests in common. Their streets, for example, must be paved and cleaned and lighted for the benefit of the whole population. They must have a common police protection and common protection against fires. Such things as water and light must be furnished to their homes, and means of transportation must be provided.

WHY PEOPLE LIVE IN FARMING AND CITY COMMUNITIES. Everybody understands why a certain number of people must of necessity live in farming communities. Not only must the people of the farms raise their own food and the raw material for their own clothing, but they must provide these things also for the people who reside in cities and villages. There are equally good reasons why people live in cities and villages. One of the principal reasons is that the raw material raised upon the farms may be more easily manufactured in cities and distributed to the stores which make a business of selling manufactured goods. The people of the farming communities are themselves very dependent upon the labors of the people who reside in cities. How could the farms be properly cultivated without the implements that are made in city communities? Would it not be a distressing state of affairs if every farmer were compelled not only to raise the wool, the flax, and the cotton from which his clothing is made, but also to manufacture the necessary cloth and thread and make it up into garments?

It is clear, then, that the lives of all of us are made a great deal easier and happier because we live in community groups and because the farming communities and the city communities are dependent upon each other. Indeed we can scarcely imagine what our lives would be if people did not live together in these different kinds of groups.

HOW PEOPLE SATISFY THEIR DESIRES. Every person in the world has a certain number of desires that he wishes to satisfy. Although the desires of different individuals vary greatly, there are certain principal desires which nearly everybody has. For example, life itself is one of the things which all of us desire to preserve. Most of us also are anxious to preserve our health. We like to be free also to do as we please without interference from others. In other words, we desire liberty of action.

Another thing which nearly everybody desires is to earn money. Most people do not care for money in itself, but money helps us to live our lives in our community. The farmer does not ordinarily exchange a quantity of potatoes or corn for a suit of clothes or a plow. He accepts money for his potatoes or corn, and he gives the same money for the clothing or the plow that he wants. Moreover, the possession of money enables us to buy things which we call property—such things, for example, as land and houses, books and furniture, food and clothing, horses and cattle. These things make our lives more comfortable, and it is natural that we should seek to obtain them.

Most of us desire not only to associate with the people of our own community but also to keep in touch with the people of other communities. For this purpose we need roads and bridges, railroads and boat lines, postal and express services, telegraph and telephone lines. Another desire which most people have is the desire for knowledge. We want to know things. We must have, therefore, not only schools and colleges but also books and magazines and newspapers.

These, in a general way, are a few of the desires which nearly everybody has. In the realization of these desires, we find happiness for ourselves, and we increase our usefulness to our family and our community groups.

THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS AMONG PEOPLE. When people live in groups it is utterly impossible for each individual to pursue his own desires without any regard for others. We desire to preserve our lives; but sometimes, as in time of war, men gladly give up their lives for their country. We desire health; but we cannot ignore the interests of others in this matter. We have no right, for example, in seeking to protect our own health, to drain the sewage from our house into an open stream, if thereby we endanger the health of our neighbors. We desire liberty of action; but we must use our liberty with due consideration for the rights of

VIEW OF CITY COMMUNITY
Showing office buildings and hotels in Norfolk, Virginia

others. If we are seized with some contagious disease, we have no right to roam at liberty and thus run the risk of spreading that disease. If we live on a farm, we have no right to refuse to build fences that will prevent our cattle from straying abroad and destroying the crops of others. We have no right to drive our horses or our automobiles recklessly, for in so doing we imperil the lives of others. In other words, our liberty of action must in many ways be restrained in order that the rights and desires of other people may be protected.

THE NEED OF ASSISTANCE IN ATTAINING OUR DESIRES. It is perfectly clear that in the attainment of some of their desires people must act together. They must provide some things which they can use in common. It would certainly be ridiculous if each farmer attempted to build his own road to a neighboring city or village. It would be impossible for every family to establish a well-equipped school for the children of the family. In a city of any size it would be very difficult for each family to supply itself with water by having its own well. And surely we should be greatly handicapped if we were compelled to forward our letters by special messenger. In such matters as these we as individuals need assistance; and we find that assistance by acting together.

THE REASONS WHY GOVERNMENTS ARE ESTABLISHED. Because the desires and interests of one person so often conflict with the interests of others who live in the same group it is nearly always desirable to lay down certain rules which everyone must obey. Even in the family group such rules are necessary, though they are seldom, if ever, written down. So in the school there are rules which must be respected. In the larger groups which form communities there are also rules. In every community, for example, it is a rule that no person shall take the life of another person; and the community will punish any person who disobeys this rule. The rules for the conduct of the people of a

community are called laws. The members of the community choose (or, as we say, elect) certain of their number to frame these laws for the community and the laws so framed are binding upon everybody. Sometimes we may feel that the laws of a community are irksome, because they interfere with this or that thing that we as individuals want to do. Sometimes also we may think this or that law is unnecessary or unwise. We should remember, however, that laws pro-

VIEW OF A PROSPEROUS FARMING COMMUNITY

tect us from others in far greater measure than they actually restrict us in what we ought reasonably to be permitted to do. For the most part they deprive us only of those rights and liberties which it is necessary for us to give up for the general interests of the whole body of people in the community.

Not only must laws be made but they must also be enforced; and the people of every community select for this purpose a

number of persons whom we call officers. It is the duty of these officers to see that the laws are obeyed and to settle disputes that arise between individuals as to the meaning of the laws.

In addition to all this, the people of the community must provide for the establishment and maintenance of the various services which they need in common. This, again, requires officers—officers who are empowered to build and repair roads, to operate post offices, to construct and manage schools. In other words, it is not sufficient for a community simply to have laws that impose duties and restrictions upon individuals for the common benefit. The community must also have certain services performed which individuals cannot well supply for themselves.

These, then, are the reasons why people establish governments. The government consists of officers whom we choose to perform certain duties for us as a community. We require some of these officers to make the laws for the community, so that every one of us may know what his own rights are and what are his obligations toward his neighbors. To other officers we give the power to enforce these laws, so that we may have some authority to appeal to when our rights are ignored or abused by another person. We select still another group of officers to perform certain services which the people of the entire community need to use in common.

It is difficult to see how we could get along in any community if we did not establish a government to accomplish these purposes for us. It is highly important that each of us should be interested in the government of his community, for certain it is that we should find many difficulties in living our lives among our fellowmen and in realizing many of our desires if there were no such thing as the government. It is desirable, therefore, that we should understand, in the first place, what our government is undertaking to do for us, and,

in the second place, how our government is organized to carry on its various activities. These are the objects of our study.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. What sort of community do you live in—is it a farming community, or a town, or a city? Find out, if you can, how many people live in your community. In your neighborhood are the houses close together or far apart? Think of some of the ways in which you associate with the people of your community—when and where, for instance, do you meet them?

2. Mention some of the advantages that people enjoy because they live in family groups. If you lived absolutely alone, how would you get your food? Your clothing? Furniture? How would you shelter yourself?

3. If you live in a farming community, mention some of the advantages you derive from associating with other people in your community. Do you use any things that are manufactured by the people of city communities? Mention some of these things.

4. If you live in a city community, in what ways are you dependent upon other people in your community? In what ways are you dependent upon the people of farming communities?

5. Mention some of the desires that you have. Have you any desire that might conflict with the rights or desires of other members of your family? Of your neighbors?

6. Explain how some of your desires are attained by reason of the fact that the people of your community have acted together. Who, for example, provided the road or the street over which you traveled to school? Who provided the school?

7. Why do you attend school? What desire are you satisfying? Mention some of the ways by which the people of your community keep in touch with the people of other communities.

8. What do you mean by the government of a community? Why is it necessary? Can you think of any way in which the government restricts you in order that the interests or desires of other people may not be interfered with? Can you think of any services provided by the government which you could not provide for yourself?

9. Who makes the rules of your school? Who enforces them? Would it be appropriate to speak of the *"government"* of your school? What would you mean?

CHAPTER II

THE LIFE AND LIBERTY OF THE PEOPLE

PROTECTION OF PERSONS AGAINST VIOLENCE. For the most part the people of a community are accustomed to live in harmony and peace with one another. Occasionally, however, one person attacks another and sometimes even takes his life. This is naturally prohibited by the law, and the government makes every effort to arrest the person who commits an offense of this kind, and especially the person who takes another's life.

In every community there are officers provided for this purpose. In farming communities there are constables and sheriffs. In city communities, because of the close association of many people, personal attacks are more frequent than in farming communities. In cities, therefore, the government provides a more numerous force of officers known as the police force. The streets of the city are patrolled by day and by night in order that persons may be promptly protected from the violence of others.

Of course it often happens that these officers who are provided to preserve the peace of the community are not on hand when an attack is made, but the knowledge that the government has provided such officers, who will seek out and arrest offenders and bring them to punishment, serves to prevent many attacks that might otherwise be made. In this way, then, does the government endeavor to protect us against those persons in the community who, in a fit of passion or because of some grudge against us, might attempt to injure us or destroy our lives.

Very occasionally in a community there is a large uprising of persons, who in their anger are ready to injure or take the

lives of those whom they regard as their enemies. This, for example, sometimes occurs when a large strike is on, and when the striking workmen or those who sympathize with them try to prevent others from taking their places. Sometimes also an unruly mob will attempt to take the life of some person who has, or is supposed to have, committed an ugly crime in the community. When conditions like this prevail it is impossible for the ordinary officers, such as constables, the sheriff, or the police, to furnish the necessary protection for the lives of those who are threatened. The government,

COMPANIES OF MILITIA ON DRESS PARADE

therefore, provides what is known as the militia. The militia consists of companies of troops which may be called out and sent to the scene of any unusual disturbance in order that the peace may be preserved and the rioters prevented from carrying out their designs. It is, however, only on rare occasions that there is any necessity for the use of the militia.

PROTECTION OF PERSONS AGAINST ACCIDENTS. Some accidents are apparently so unavoidable that perhaps nobody can be blamed for them; but for many of the accidents

that happen to persons in the course of their lives they themselves are alone responsible. Of course it would be impossible for the government to attempt to protect us against every avoidable accident that might occur. There are, however, certain circumstances in which the dangers of accident are so apparent that the government does attempt to furnish a degree of protection.

The people who live in farming communities are exposed to only a few dangers from accident in respect to which the government can be of assistance. The government requires, for example, that persons driving along roads shall keep to the right, in order that one driver may know what move to expect from another. The government also limits the speed at which automobiles may travel. Sometimes in the construction of roads and bridges the government erects fences or rails to protect persons from dangerous ditches or ravines. Especially does the government endeavor to protect persons against accidents from railway trains. Wherever a road crosses a railway track the government requires that the railway company shall erect a sign warning the traveler on the road of possible danger. Sometimes there is the additional warning of a bell indicating the approach of a train. Occasionally, moreover, the railway company is required to carry its tracks on a bridge above the road or to carry the road on a bridge over the tracks in order that the danger from accident may be completely avoided.

It is, however, in the cities, where the risks are much greater than in farming communities, that the government undertakes in numerous ways to lessen the possibility of accidents. Trains are required to move at a very slow rate of speed. The operation of street cars and of automobiles is regulated in many ways by law; and not infrequently special policemen are placed at corners where the traffic is particularly heavy in order that they may regulate the movement of vehicles.

The government also does many things to lessen the danger

from accidents that result from fires in cities. Many buildings are required to be equipped with fire escapes. In the theatres and other buildings where large numbers of people gather the government regulates such things as the width of the aisles, the number of people that may be allowed to stand, and the number and kind of exits that must be provided, in order that, in case of fire, the audience may quickly gain the street. Moreover, in all of the larger cities there is a force of officers for the special purpose of putting out fires, and many persons are saved from accident and from loss of life by the heroic work of these firemen.

A STEEL BRIDGE UNDER CONSTRUCTION
This huge viaduct, at Richmond, Virginia, helps to prevent accidents by carrying traffic high above numerous railroad tracks

The government, further, attempts to lessen the dangers from accident to the workmen who are employed in large manufacturing plants. The managers of these plants are required to place guards around dangerous machinery and otherwise to provide against accidents to their employes, whether from fire or from the operation of the plant.

PROTECTION OF THE POOR. In still another way does the government throw its protection around the life of the individual. When a man's health and strength have failed, when he is without money and without friends or relatives to support him, he finds that the government has made provision for his care. Formerly this protection of the poor was given by the churches and by private persons and organizations. These still do a great deal toward helping those who are unable to help themselves. In modern times, however, the care of the poor has come to be regarded as one of the duties of the government. We find almshouses, therefore, in every county and city; and officers are appointed whose duty it is to see that these unfortunates in the community are provided for.

PROTECTION OF AGED SOLDIERS. In Virginia the government also contributes to the support of the soldiers who fought in the War Between the States, and who, by reason of their disablement or their losses as a result of the war, are unable to care for themselves. These venerable men gladly gave their services to the state in their youth. They stood ready at a time of great need to sacrifice their lives for the Southern cause. In many cases they lost everything. It is no more than right and just, therefore, that the government should make some provision for them during the declining years of their lives.

THE MEANING OF LIBERTY IN THE COMMUNITY. As we have already had occasion to note, our desire for liberty of action must be restricted in many ways in the interest of other people who live with us in the community. If the government did not impose certain restrictions upon our liberties, the thoughtless and inconsiderate people of the community would often seriously interfere with the rights of others. It is only by restricting the liberty of each of us to some extent that the interests of all can be protected.

It would be impossible to enumerate all of the ways in which the government imposes restrictions upon our liberties. This would necessitate a review of nearly all of the laws which the government enacts; for most laws deprive us of liberty in one way or another. We are compelled to do certain things which, if our liberty was wholly unrestrained, we might not choose to do. We are likewise forbidden to do many things which we might otherwise wish to do. It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that these restrictions upon our freedom of action are imposed merely for the sake of interfering with us. This is far from the fact. Restrictions are never placed upon our individual liberties except when the government believes that the whole community will be benefited by such restrictions.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS PROHIBITED FROM INTERFERING WITH OUR LIBERTY. It is a mistake also to suppose that the government can go to any extent it chooses in restricting our liberties. There are certain personal rights that we as a people regard as of great importance; and we expressly prohibit the government from interfering with these rights. For example, we prohibit the government from depriving us of freedom of speech or of freedom of religion; and we do not permit the officers of the government to make unreasonable entry into our dwellings. Moreover, as we shall see in the next chapter, we limit the power which the government may exercise over persons accused of crime, in order that innocent persons may not suffer unjustly.

THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS. In some countries people have to be very careful what they say or write or print about the government. In Virginia, however, and indeed throughout the United States, there is no suppression of news in regard to the government. Anybody may criticise the affairs of the government as he pleases. Why is such liberty permitted in America? It is

because we believe that the more the people know about the government, the better government we shall have. It is necessary, therefore, that we should be permitted to discuss the actions of the government very freely. If corrupt or inefficient officers get control of the government, it is right that the people should know this. It is true that able and conscientious officers are sometimes unjustly condemned, and the liberty that we as a people enjoy is thus abused. This is unfortunate. But even though our liberty of speech is sometimes abused, it would be far worse if we were kept in ignorance of what the officers of the government are doing.

When persons become officers of the government they are in a way the servants of the whole community, and they place themselves in a position that especially invites criticism of their acts. In criticising their acts, however, we have no right to say or write false and malicious things about the personal character of these officers. Much less have we the right to say and write whatever we choose about our fellow citizens. If we could do this, it is easy to see that one person might often do serious injury to another person's reputation and standing in the community. Whenever a person can prove that he has been falsely slandered by another, the law provides that the person who has slandered him shall pay him a sum of money equal to the loss that he has sustained. Officers of the government do not often attempt to recover money damages of this kind, but private persons are not infrequently compelled to do so. While we as a people are protected in our freedom of speech and of the press, the government has the power to limit that freedom to the end that the reputations of individuals may not be destroyed by their personal enemies.

THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION. In times gone by the churches were often very closely connected with the government. Indeed the officers of the government would often persecute those who held religious beliefs that

differed from their own. Even after the days of religious persecutions passed, the government often gave special support to a particular religious denomination. And this is the situation that prevails in some countries even at the present time.

In Virginia the Episcopal or Anglican Church was supported by the government down to the year 1785. It was largely through the efforts of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison that this system was abolished. Thereafter the Episcopal Church, like all the other denominations, was compelled to support itself and secured no special favors from the government. As everybody knows, we now enjoy absolute freedom to worship at any church we choose, and we are not required by law to contribute to the support of any church. It is highly improbable that the government would ever attempt at this late day to give special favor to any particular denomination or sect. But in order to guard against this possibility, we have absolutely prohibited the government from doing so.

THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM SLAVERY. Before the War Between the States, almost the entire negro population of Virginia, in common with the negroes of the rest of the South, was held in slavery. Slaves were bought and sold. Indeed they were exchanged very much like other property. Although they were in most cases treated kindly by their masters, they did not enjoy any considerable degree of personal freedom. They were compelled to do what their owners required of them. As a result of the war the negroes were made free, and today they enjoy the same amount of personal freedom that is permitted to the white population. It is now a general principle of government throughout the United States that no person can be made the slave of another. One person is as free as another, which means that everybody is free to do as he pleases so long as he obeys the laws of the community in which he lives.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. What means, if any, are provided in your school for the protection of the lives of the teachers and pupils? Are there fire-escapes? Are there broad staircases? Are there sufficient exits? Do you have fire drills?

2. If you live near a railroad, do you know of any precautions that are taken to prevent accidents?

3. If you live in a city, do you know of any precautions that are taken to prevent accidents by fire in public buildings? To prevent accidents in the streets? How are your city streets lighted, and why? Who owns the lighting plant?

4. Ask some manufacturer in your community what things the government compels him to do to safeguard his employes.

5. Find out what provision is made in your community for the care of the poor. Who supports the poorhouse?

6. Is there a militia company organized in your community? Do you know of any time that it has been called into active service? If so, when, and why?

7. Mention some of the restrictions upon your liberty in the schoolroom—what are some of the things that you are not permitted to do? Explain how these things would interfere with the rights of others. Why are you forced to consider the rights of others? Why are they forced to consider your rights?

8. How is your liberty in the family restricted? Who makes the rules which you must obey in the home? Why are they made?

9. Compare the restrictions upon your liberty in the school and in the family with the restrictions which the government places upon the liberties of people living in the community. Why are these latter restrictions necessary? What, then, do we mean by liberty in a community?

10. Can the government restrict the liberty of the people to any extent it chooses? Can the government, for instance, prohibit freedom of speech? What do we mean by freedom of speech? Can one man say or print anything he chooses about another without fear of punishment?

11. Does the government prescribe what church you shall attend? Could it do so if it wished? Why? Did the government of Virginia ever make such laws? Why were they abolished? What is meant by an "established church"?

12. Did you ever hear or read that some officer of the government was unworthy of his position? Have the people in Virginia the right to talk freely about the officers of the government? What good results from this? What evil sometimes results?

13. When was slavery abolished in Virginia? How much liberty did the slaves enjoy? What liberties do the colored people enjoy today?

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE AND LIBERTY OF PERSONS ACCUSED OF CRIME

PROTECTION GIVEN TO PERSONS ACCUSED OF CRIME. It is of great importance that persons who violate the laws of the community should be punished. Otherwise the laws and the government itself would be useless. But it is no less important that innocent persons should not be made to suffer merely because they are *suspected* of having violated the laws. In order to avoid this we give to all persons who are accused of committing crimes certain rights which they may demand.

THE PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE. Perhaps the most important of these rights is that every person is presumed to be innocent until the government has *proved* that he is guilty. In other words, unless the government can find other persons who saw the accused commit the offense in question, or unless it can show certain facts which prove the person's guilt beyond any reasonable doubt, the person cannot be punished, whether he is actually guilty or not.

It is probable that a guilty person is sometimes allowed to go unpunished because the government cannot get actual proof against him. This is regrettable, but it is occasionally necessary. Otherwise the officers of the government would be able to punish a person merely because they *thought* he had committed an offense. That would indeed be unendurable.

THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING RELEASED ON BAIL. Of course persons must sometimes be held merely on suspicion, until the government has had time to investigate, and until what is known as a trial can be held. Even in such cases the person so held has certain rights and privileges. He

can, for instance, ask to be released on bail. If this request is granted, someone must deposit a sum of money with the government; and in case the person escapes from the community, or fails to present himself for trial, this money is forfeited to the government. The amount of bail that is demanded usually varies with the seriousness of the offense. And sometimes, either because of the seriousness of the offense, or because the government has reason to believe that the suspected person is planning to escape and forfeit his bail, the government refuses to allow him to be released on bail. In many cases, however, it is only fair that a person who is merely suspected should be permitted to go at liberty until the government is ready to put him on trial and prove his guilt. The chief objection to the bail system is that a poor person or a person unknown in the community often finds difficulty in raising the money to deposit with the government.

THE RIGHT OF INDICTMENT BY GRAND JURY. If the offense of which a person is accused is a grave one, he cannot actually be brought to trial upon the mere accusation of some officer of the government. This officer must present the evidence which he has against the person to a group of private citizens who are known as a grand jury. If this grand jury thinks that the evidence against the person is sufficient, they bring in what is known as an indictment against him. This simply means that the person is formally accused by the grand jury and is ordered to be tried for the offense. If the grand jury thinks the evidence insufficient, they dismiss the indictment; and the person cannot then be held for trial. Sometimes a person is arrested on suspicion and held (or released on bail) until the grand jury can be assembled. He is then said to be "held for the grand jury." Sometimes he is not arrested at all until after the grand jury has indicted him. In either case, after the grand jury has

presented an indictment against a person, he is said to be "held for trial."

THE RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY. For all the more serious offenses a person is entitled to be tried by jury. This means that his guilt or innocence must be determined by a group of twelve private citizens who reside in the community in which the offense was committed. Moreover, these twelve persons must *all* agree. Otherwise a new jury must be chosen and another trial held. More than this, the accused must be tried in an "open court"—that is, a court to which the public is admitted. The court may, however, be cleared, if those who are present attempt to influence the jury by showing their feeling for or against the prisoner. The accused cannot be compelled to testify against himself. If he prefers to remain silent, he has the right to do so. The witnesses against him must give their testimony in his presence. And the government is required to force the attendance of any witnesses whom the prisoner may demand.

When all the evidence for and against the accused has been presented, the jury retires to consider the case. If they come to an agreement, they bring in what is known as a verdict. This verdict may be either of guilt or of innocence. If the verdict is one of guilt, the accused is said to be "convicted"; and thereafter he is "sentenced" to serve the punishment which the law provides for the particular offense.

THE RIGHT OF APPEAL. It is often the case that a prisoner, even after he has been convicted and sentenced, has the right to carry his case to another and higher court. This we call the right of appeal. He is not again tried by a jury; but this higher court considers whether the case was properly tried before the jury. If they conclude that the trial was not conducted with all the fairness required by the law, they have the power to order that a new trial be held.

THE RIGHT NOT TO BE PUNISHED IN A CRUEL OR UNUSUAL MANNER. Various degrees of punish-

ment for different offenses are prescribed by the laws of the community. But the government in making these laws may not provide any cruel or unusual punishment. The most usual punishment is a fine or imprisonment, and sometimes both a fine and a term of imprisonment are imposed. For a few very serious offenses the government prescribes the punishment of death. Formerly in Virginia persons who were sentenced to death were hanged; but more recently the law has provided for death by electrocution—that is, by causing an electric current to pass through the body. Many persons believe that punishment by death should be abolished entirely. But as long as the people retain this form of punishment for a few of the more terrible crimes, the use of the electric current is certainly more humane than the old method of hanging.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Suppose a man commits a crime in your community, who would ordinarily arrest him? Where would he be taken? Would he have to prove his innocence?

2. Explain how he might be released on bail. Explain how he might be "held for the grand jury." How would he be indicted? What would this mean? How would he be tried?

3. What is a verdict? A conviction? A sentence? What is the right of appeal? Electrocution?

4. Find out where the courts in your community are held. Have you ever seen a court room? If so, describe it.

5. Find out when a grand jury last met in your community. Try to find someone who has served on a grand jury, and ask him how the business of the grand jury was conducted.

6. Try to find someone who has served on a jury. Ask him to describe the trial to you.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE

PROTECTION AGAINST CONTAGIOUS DISEASES. Many years ago it usually happened that when some contagious disease broke out in a community it spread rapidly from family to family. This was known as an epidemic. In the case of the more dangerous diseases, such as smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and typhoid fever, many persons would die during these epidemics. There were also epidemics of less dangerous diseases, such as whooping-cough, chicken pox, measles, and grip. Now the chief reason why most of these diseases spread with such rapidity was that no effort was made to prevent well persons from coming in contact with those who were ill. It is now well recognized that it is the duty of the government to take precautions to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. For example, the requirement that school children shall be vaccinated is a precaution that is taken to prevent the spread of the most dangerous of all of these diseases—smallpox. But the government must also exercise control over the persons who are so unfortunate as to contract contagious diseases. The attempt is made to prevent well persons from coming in contact with these unfortunates. To this end the government forbids well persons to enter a house in which one of these diseases prevails, and signs of warning are often required to be posted conspicuously upon such a house. The children of the family, if they have been exposed to the disease, are prevented from attending school. After the disease is over the government often requires that the premises shall be thoroughly fumigated. In the case of very dangerous diseases, such as smallpox, the government often provides a special hospital and

requires that the patient shall be removed to this carefully guarded institution.

It is not easy to enforce regulations of this kind and people often object to the restrictions that are imposed upon them. When we compare, however, the infrequency with which widespread epidemics now occur with their great frequency in the past, we realize the necessity of control by the government, and we ought to be perfectly willing to comply with those requirements which are made of us.

The danger from the spread of contagious diseases in cities is naturally greater than it is in farming communities. This is due to the fact that people in cities live so much closer together. In cities, therefore, the government enforces quarantine regulations with greater strictness than elsewhere.

PROTECTION AGAINST IMPURE WATER. In farming communities the water that is needed by each family is almost invariably secured from a private well. The government cannot undertake to protect all of these many wells against impurities. Individuals themselves should, however, exercise great care in this matter. For instance, a person should never be so foolish as to place a well in a position where the filth and refuse from a stable will drain toward the well. It is now an established fact that certain diseases, such, for example, as typhoid fever, are more often than not caused by impurities in water that is used for drinking. A person who is not careful in properly locating and covering his well puts himself and his family in constant danger.

In the cities, where water is almost invariably supplied to the homes of the people through pipes and mains that are laid under the streets and connected with the houses, the government itself is responsible for the purity of the water. Sometimes a city can secure its water from a source which contains no impurities. Occasionally, however, it is necessary for the government to instal a plant to purify the water before it is distributed to the people. These plants are commonly

known as filtration plants. In cities also the government has to be careful not to discharge the sewage which is taken from the homes of the people in any place that is likely to endanger the purity of the drinking water either of that city or of some neighboring city. In many cities the annual number of cases of typhoid fever has been greatly reduced by changing the place of the disposal of sewage.

THE SETTLING BASIN NEAR RICHMOND
Here the muddy water of the James River is cleared before being distributed to the homes of the people

PROTECTION AGAINST IMPURE MILK AND FOODS. For the most part there is really no reason why the people who live in farming communities should run any great risk of endangering their health by the use of milk and foods that are impure. With the people of cities, however, it is quite otherwise. They are dependent upon others to supply them with these things. Unless the government undertakes

to protect them, they are more or less helpless to protect themselves. For example, those who furnish them with milk may have diluted it with water or may have used injurious chemicals to prevent the milk from spoiling. Moreover, the milk may have been handled in unclean dairies. It is possible, also, to handle meats and vegetables in such a way that they are not actually fit to be used as foods. Again, a considerable part of the foods that are used by the people are now supplied to them in cans and in sealed packages; and it is often impossible to tell the quality and cleanliness of such foods by merely looking at them. The government attempts in many ways to regulate the quality of the milk and the foods that are sold to the people of the state. It provides inspection for dairies, creameries, stables, and cows. Its officers inspect also such places as restaurants, bakeries, meat markets, and slaughter houses. Samples of canned and package foods are collected and analyzed. Even feeds for stock are examined by officers of the government.

PROTECTION AGAINST UNTRAINED PHYSICIANS AND PHARMACISTS. When a person becomes ill it is usually necessary for him to have proper medicines and medical attention. It is easy to see the danger that would arise if everyone who wished to become a physician or pharmacist were permitted to do so. Ignorant persons would be constantly furnishing medicine to those who are in need of trained assistance. In order to provide against this danger the government requires that every person who wishes to practise medicine or pharmacy shall pass certain examinations to prove his knowledge and ability.

PROTECTION AGAINST INTOXICATING LIQUORS. The use of intoxicating liquors is today recognized to be dangerous to the health of those who use them, as well as productive of other unhappy consequences. For a long time the government has undertaken to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors to some extent. Formerly in Virginia

each community was permitted to decide by a vote of its people whether liquors should or should not be sold in the community. Even when a community voted in favor of the sale of liquors the government required retailers to pay considerable sums of money for this privilege. This made the liquor more expensive and therefore tended to lessen its use.

The people of Virginia have now decided to prohibit entirely the sale of liquor within the state. On November 1, 1916, all saloons were compelled to discontinue operations.

A COTTON MILL AT DANVILLE, VIRGINIA
Showing a modern factory built with due regard for light, air-space, ventilation and attractive appearance

SPECIAL PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRY. In Virginia the government has taken certain steps looking to the protection of the health of persons who labor in manufacturing establishments. For example, the government has limited the number of hours per day during which women, and children under

sixteen years of age, may be employed. Employers are required to arrange their work-rooms so that they shall be properly lighted and ventilated. They are required also to keep their establishments in a sanitary condition, so that the health of their employes may not be endangered. It is probable that in the course of time the government will prescribe additional regulations for the protection of the health of those employed in industry. The government regulates matters of this kind because those who are employed are often unable

A DUMP ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF A CITY
Where ashes and rubbish are used to fill up a ravine

to protect themselves against employers who, either from indifference or because of their unwillingness to spend a little money in the improvement of their plant, require those who work for them to labor in unhealthful surroundings.

ADDITIONAL PROTECTION OF HEALTH IN CITIES. In many ways the government is compelled to take special precautions for the protection of the health of those who live in cities. The streets must be cleaned and in

the summer time they must be watered to keep down the dust. Sewers must be provided to carry the rain water off the streets. Garbage and refuse must be carted away from the homes of the people. A sewer system must be provided in order that sewage may be carried from the homes of the people through mains and pipes laid under the streets. The government also often regulates and inspects the plumbing in houses, because diseases have often been traced to the gases that are caused by bad connections with the sewer system. In cities, moreoever, the government will not permit a person to endanger the health of others by maintaining what is known as a nuisance. For example, a person cannot keep his stable in a filthy condition. Nor can he maintain a slaughter house or a fertilizer factory in a residence district.

In numerous other ways does the government attempt to promote and protect the health of the people who live in cities. As we have already had occasion to note, this is because the people in cities live so close together that the acts of one person are very apt to endanger the health of others in a community.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. What means are provided in your school for the protection of health? How is your schoolroom ventilated, and why? How is it heated? Is it well lighted? Do the school authorities require you to be vaccinated? Where does your drinking water come from? When are children prevented from attending school on account of disease? Who prevents them, and why?

2. What measures does your city take to make the community more healthful? Is there a sewerage system? Are the streets kept clean? Are contagious diseases quarantined? What about the drinking water? The garbage? Find out, if you can, what measures are taken to protect you against impure milk and foods. Are the dairies and creameries, slaughter houses, butcher shops and markets inspected by the government?

3. Why is the sale of intoxicating liquors prohibited in Virginia?

4. Ask some manufacturer what measures the government requires him to take to protect the health of his employes.

CHAPTER V

THE PROPERTY OF THE PEOPLE

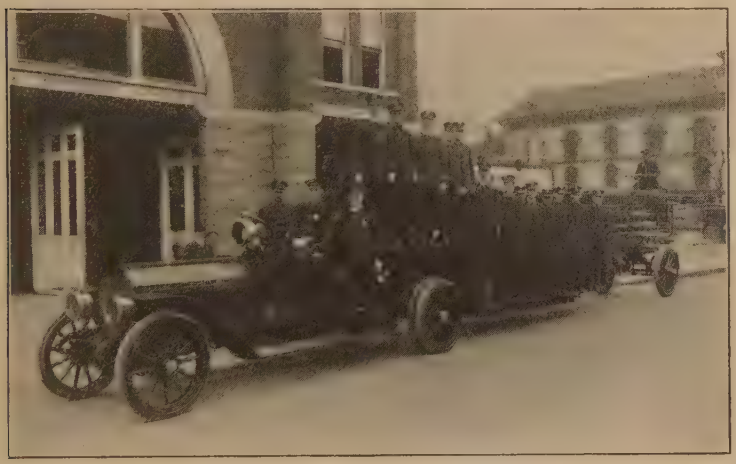
THE MEANING OF PROPERTY. It was pointed out in the first chapter that nearly everybody desires to earn money in order that he may purchase things which he needs to make him and his family comfortable. We all know that the land and houses in the community are owned by certain individuals who have usually either earned money and bought this property or have inherited it from others. The land and houses are the property of the persons who own them; but they are not the only kind of property. People also own property that can be moved around, such as horses and cattle, clothing and jewelry, books and furniture. Indeed money itself is only a special kind of property, because, as everybody knows, we can exchange money for various kinds of property.

Everybody who owns property has the right to be protected in it, and the government helps in many ways to furnish us with the protection which we need in this matter.

PROTECTION OF LANDS AND BUILDINGS. Of course it is usually impossible for one person to steal the land or the house that belongs to another, for it is impossible to hide such things or to carry them away. Sometimes, however, two or more persons each claim a certain piece of land or a certain house. The government assists in settling disputes of this kind by providing that whenever a piece of land is sold or given by one person to another, this fact shall be recorded in an office which the government provides. The property that is thus sold or transferred must be accurately described in this record which the government keeps. This system of recording transfers of land and houses does not always prevent disputes as to ownership; but if the government did not

provide some such system, it is certain that such disputes would be far more numerous than they are.

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY AGAINST ROBBERY. In every community there are usually a few people who have no regard for the property rights of others. They cannot ordinarily steal lands and buildings, but they can steal other forms of property; and they do not hesitate to do so whenever it is possible. The same officers that protect persons against the violence of others—the constables, the sheriff, and the police—are also required to protect property from thieves.



A MOTOR HOOK-AND-LADDER TRUCK

In spite of the watchfulness of these officers, and especially of the police in cities, and in spite of the fact that every person, whether in a city or in a farming community, has the right to protect his own property from burglars if he is able to do so, robberies are sometimes committed. The government then makes every effort to arrest the robber and bring him to punishment and if possible to restore the stolen goods to its owner.

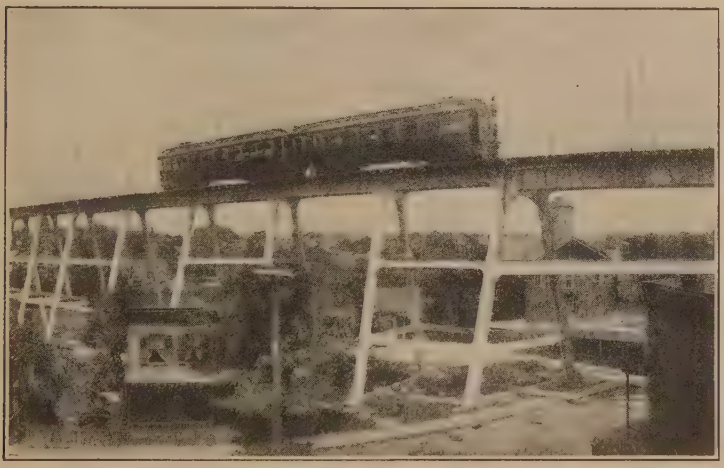
It must not be thought that those who break into other people's houses are the only thieves that there are. Sometimes men in high positions, who are greatly respected in the community, yield to the temptation to steal money which happens to be in their care but which belongs to others. These men are even worse than common thieves, for they have usually had better opportunities and better training. The government, of course, provides for their punishment.

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY AGAINST FIRE. It is the duty of every person to use precautions to prevent the starting of fires. In spite of such precautions, fires sometimes occur. In farming communities it is manifestly impossible for the government to provide any protection against fires. But in the larger cities the government establishes organized fire departments, with fire engines, hose wagons, and hook-and-ladder wagons, and with a force of firemen to operate this apparatus. At various places throughout the city there are call boxes at which a fire alarm may be turned in. This notifies the fire department that a fire has started in a certain section of the city. Immediately the firemen hasten to the scene of the fire and use every effort to put it out. On the street corners there are plugs to which hose can be attached, and the fire engines pump strong streams of water that are thrown upon the burning building. In this way does the government seek to protect the property of the people from destruction by fires. An efficient fire department is very necessary in every city, for, since the houses are built close together, it might easily happen that a fire that started in one person's house would spread rapidly and destroy the property of many other persons.

In villages and small cities the government itself does not often maintain a regular fire department. Instead of this, a number of men in the community usually band together in volunteer organizations. These organizations purchase hose and other equipment for the purpose of fighting fires. Such

organizations should be heartily supported by the people of these communities, for they really take the place of the government itself in performing this service.

THE RIGHTS OF THE COMMUNITY IN THE PROPERTY OF INDIVIDUALS. In a general way we may do whatever we choose with our property so long as we obey the laws of the community. But, as we have seen, the government, in the interest of the entire community, regulates in a number of ways the uses to which we may put our property.



AN ELECTRIC LINE RUNNING BETWEEN RICHMOND AND ASHLAND
This is one of the many railways that are regulated by the government

In farming communities, for example, the government often requires that the individual shall erect fences to prevent his cattle from straying on other people's land. In cities the government prevents a person from using his property for carrying on an objectionable business in the midst of the homes of the people. Frequently, also, the government prohibits the erection of a wooden building in the heart of the city in order to lessen the danger from fires. In most cities,

also, the government imposes certain regulations upon the construction of buildings in order to insure their safety. Again, if a person digs a hole upon his property close to a city street he is required to protect it so as not to endanger the lives of those who are using the street. In this and many other ways the government places restrictions upon the uses of private property.

Further than this, the government reserves the right to take our property entirely from us whenever this property is needed for the community as a whole. If, for example, the government wishes to open a road or a street through the property we own, or to construct a park or a school or other public building upon our property, the government has the power to take this property from us in case we refuse to sell it. In such instances the government is required to pay us a just amount of money for the property that is taken. This power of the government to take a man's property from him is called the power of eminent domain. The government often confers this power upon railroad companies so that individual owners of property may not, by refusing to sell, stand in the way of the building of a railroad.

The government also takes property away from the people of the community in the form of the taxes, which must be collected for the support of the government. The individual who pays taxes receives compensation only in the form of the many things which the government does for the community as a whole. (See Chapter XVII.)

SPECIAL RIGHTS OF THE COMMUNITY IN CERTAIN KINDS OF PROPERTY. The people as a whole are peculiarly dependent upon some of the property that is owned by private persons. We as individuals are not often dependent in any unusual way upon the property which another person may own in a shoe store or a dry-goods store. If we cannot be suited at one such store we go to another, or we order our shoes or our dry-goods from a distant city. But

when we desire to go on a journey, we *are* dependent upon the property which other persons own in a railroad; for there is often only *one* railroad that we can make use of. So also we are usually dependent in a peculiar way upon the property which other people own in a telephone or telegraph company. The people of cities are likewise dependent upon the property of street car companies, and of water, gas, and electric light companies; for more often than not there is only *one* company that supplies each of these services to the community.

Now in some instances the government itself owns the waterworks, the gas works, or the electric plant. But this is not always the case. Moreover, in no community in Virginia does the government own the railroads, the telephone and telegraph services, or the street cars. These are owned by private persons who seek to make as much money as possible out of them. The government recognizes, however, that the people have a very special interest in the property that is used in these various services. It reserves the right, therefore, to regulate property of this kind in a special way. Thus the government usually fixes the rates that may be charged by the persons who furnish these services and imposes many requirements upon them in the interest of the comfort and convenience of the public. The government cannot, however, deprive them of the right to earn a reasonable income from the property in which they have invested their money.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT IMPROVES THE PROPERTY OF THE PEOPLE. It is, of course, the business of every person who owns property to do whatever he can to increase its value. To this end he should cultivate his property so as to make it as productive as possible. If he owns property in a city, he usually erects a building upon it, either for his own home or business, or with a view to renting the building to some other person for profit. The government, however, also does many things which increase the value of the property owned by individuals. When, for example, the

government constructs a road, or grades and paves a street, or lays out and beautifies a park, the adjacent property is often made more valuable by reason of this improvement. Because of this fact the government sometimes requires the owners of the adjacent property to pay the whole or a part of the cost of such improvements. When the government makes charges of this kind against the owners of private property, these charges are known as "special assessments." If a person's property is increased in value because of some improvement undertaken by the government, it seems only fair and just that he should pay for that increase of value, even though the improvement is also of benefit to other people in the community.

THE PROPERTY OF THE GOVERNMENT. In every community the government itself owns some of the property. Thus the rivers, most of the roads, and many of the bridges belong to the government. So also in cities the government owns the streets, the alleys, and the parks. Moreover, the government owns certain public buildings, such as schoolhouses, courthouses, jails and prisons, poorhouses, city halls, and public libraries. The property which the government owns really belongs to the entire community, for it is used for the benefit of all of the people.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Mention some of the property that you possess in the schoolroom. How does this property help you? Mention some of the property owned by the school. How does this property assist you? Who supplies the school property? Are you protected in the possession of your books and pencils? Who protects you?

2. Is money property? Why? What business is your father engaged in? Why does he engage in business? Mention some of the property in your home. To whom does it belong?

3. Who owns the land in your community? How may one man transfer a piece of land to another? In case of dispute over the ownership of a piece of land, who settles it?

4. What means does your community afford for protection against burglaries? Who arrests the burglar and what is done with him? Why do police patrol the city streets? Why are streets lighted? Why is there no patrol in the country districts? How is the police force organized?

5. Find out what you can about the fire department in your community. What is its purpose? Who supports it? Have you ever seen a large fire? How is an alarm turned in? Explain how the department operates. Why are there no fire departments in farming communities?

6. What are some of the ways in which the government restricts us in the use of our property? Why are these restrictions imposed?

7. Why does the government impose special restrictions upon the persons who own the railways, and the telegraph, telephone, water, gas, and electric light services?

8. Do you remember a road or street ever being opened in your community across some man's property? Or do you remember a schoolhouse or other public building ever being built? If you do not know of any such instance, perhaps your parents or teacher can tell you of one. Who opened this road or street? Or who built this building? How did the government get the property? Was the former owner justly paid? What is this power of the government to take property called?

9. What property does the government own in your community? How did the government get it? Why is this property owned by the government?

CHAPTER VI

THE FARMS OF THE PEOPLE

PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS. In view of the fact that so large a part of the people of Virginia live in farming communities, it is not surprising that the government should undertake to assist in developing the agricultural interests of the people. In many ways the government endeavors to extend protection to farmers and to furnish them with much valuable information and assistance.

INSPECTION OF FERTILIZERS. Every farmer is dependent upon good fertilizers. It is not always possible, however, for the farmer to tell whether the fertilizer that is offered to him contains the things that his soil needs or the things that are claimed for it by the fertilizer manufacturer. This requires a chemical analysis which the farmer is not often able to make. In order to protect farmers against dishonesty in the matter of fertilizers the government provides inspectors who secure samples of fertilizers in various parts of the state and forward them to Richmond for examination. The farmers themselves may also require that samples be sent on for examination. If upon examination the government finds that a sample does not come up to the claims of the manufacturer, the manufacturer may be punished, and the farmer who has purchased any of the fertilizer in question may recover the amount that he paid out.

SEED INSPECTION. The government requires that those who sell seed to farmers shall mark the packages containing the seeds so as to indicate their quality. Any farmer may send to Richmond a sample of seeds which he is about to purchase and have them examined. Moreover, the officers of the government themselves take samples of seeds in various

GIRLS' CANNING CLUBS EXHIBIT AT THE STATE FAIR

BOYS' CORN CLUB PRIZE WINNERS IN PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY

parts of the State and analyze them to discover impurities and weed seeds.

PROTECTION AGAINST CROP PESTS. The government undertakes to furnish information to farmers on the subject of insects and other pests that attack orchard trees and crops. Inspectors are also appointed and are given the power to destroy any pest that is about to gain headway

STATE LIME QUARRY, STAUNTON, VIRGINIA
The agricultural lime taken from this quarry is sold to Virginia farmers at cost

in this or that farming community. The government also inspects and regulates the nurseries at which orchard trees are grown for sale.

PROTECTION AGAINST DISEASES TO CATTLE. The government maintains at Blacksburg an officer known as the State Veterinarian whose duty it is to furnish information on the subject of diseases of cattle. He has the power to make inspections and in case he discovers an infectious dis-

ease he may establish a local quarantine to prevent the spread of the disease to other cattle in the community or to other parts of the state. The railroad companies are also required by the government to clean and disinfect cattle cars, in order to prevent the possible spread of cattle diseases.

EXPERIMENTAL FARMS. At Blacksburg in connection with the Virginia Polytechnic Institute there is maintained what is known as the State Experiment Station. This station is used for the purpose of making investigations into the various kinds of seeds, fertilizers, soils, and methods of cultivation, in order that farmers may receive reliable informa-

A FARMERS' INSTITUTE TRAIN

tion and instruction upon these subjects. In addition to this important station, experiment stations are also conducted under government control at Appomattox, Axton, Bowling Green, Chatham, Louisa, Rustsberg, Saxe, Norfolk, and Staunton. A large amount of valuable information is gathered from the experiments that are conducted at these stations. This information is furnished to the farmers who are interested in improving their methods of cultivation.

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS. The Virginia Agricultural and Polytechnic Institute located at Blacksburg offers to the young men of Virginia the opportunity to secure a four-year college course in agriculture. It also conducts in the winter season a brief course of six weeks for practical farmers. This Institute is supported by the government. Teachers are also sent out from this Institute to conduct what are known as "movable schools of agriculture," which last from three to ten days, and to carry on demonstration work on experimental plots in all parts of the state. In the spring and autumn the government also sends lecturers on special trains throughout the state to address farmers on subjects of interest to them.

In each of the ten congressional districts of the state the government maintains an agricultural and industrial department in at least one high school. The government also supervises "boys' corn clubs" and "girls' canning clubs" in connection with the work of the national Department of Agriculture at Washington.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. If you live in a farming community find out how the farmers know that the fertilizer which they buy has been inspected by the government. Find out whether the farmers in your community ever have the seeds which they purchase examined by the government. If so, find out what has been the result of these examinations.

2. Has there ever been an epidemic of disease among cattle in your community? If so, what did the government do to prevent the spread of such disease?

3. If there is an agricultural experiment station near you find out, if you can, what work it is doing. Has there ever been in your community a movable school of agriculture or a farmers' institute train? Or has the government carried on any demonstration work? If so, find out, if you can, about these activities of the government.

CHAPTER VII

THE SCHOOLS OF THE PEOPLE

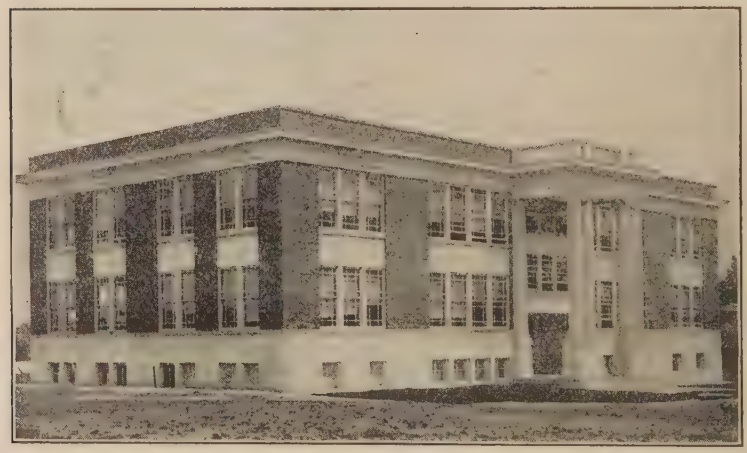
THE REASON FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Back in the year 1671 Governor Berkeley of Virginia wrote: "I thank God there are no free schools or printing presses and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years." What did he mean by this astounding remark? He meant simply this—that people can be subjected to tyranny and oppression by the government only when they are kept ignorant. Whenever people begin to read and study and to think for themselves, they begin to understand that they have certain rights which have to be protected. They then realize that they are capable of governing themselves and of determining, through the government which they themselves establish, what right sthey wish to enjoy as individuals, and what services their government shall provide for the community as a whole.

THE HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN VIRGINIA. Of all the statesmen who helped to found the American nation, Thomas Jefferson had perhaps the greatest faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves. He realized, however, that it was absolutely necessary that the masses of the people should be provided with means by which they might improve their intelligence. He early proposed, therefore, that both primary and high schools should be established by the government throughout the State of Virginia, and that a university should also be established at the top of this system of free education. His plan was never fully carried out.

As early as 1808 a sum of money known as the Literary Fund was set aside by the government of Virginia for the education of the poor children of the state. It was not a large fund, and the people for many years regarded it as a public

charity. Even when they were too poor to pay for the education of their children, many of them were too proud to accept the help of the government. With the money from this fund, however, as well as with money contributed by private persons, many schools were established in Virginia. These schools were known as "free" schools because children could attend them without the payment of tuition.

It was only after the War Between the States that a real system of public education was established in Virginia. The



SUFFOLK CITY HIGH SCHOOL
A splendid modern school building

old free schools that existed in various parts of the state were made a part of the present system when it was first established in the year 1870.

The northern states were far in advance of Virginia and the other southern states in establishing public school systems. There were two principal reasons for this. In the first place, the people of the northern states settled for the most part on small farms in communities that were known as towns, or

townships. They lived fairly close together, and it was comparatively easy for the children to attend the schools that were provided. In Virginia, however, the people settled for the most part on large plantations, and these were widely scattered over the state. Even if the government had, in early days, attempted to establish schools, it would have been difficult for the children in the outlying districts to attend them. This was one of the reasons, then, why the establish-

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD AT LUNCHEON
Served by the domestic science class of the Chester Agricultural High School

ment of systems of public education was so long delayed in the South.

In the second place, there was in Virginia and the rest of the South a large population of negro slaves. This fact caused society to be divided into three classes. There was, first, the wealthy class of land owners and slave owners, together with the professional men of the state, such as min-

isters, lawyers, physicians, and office-holders. Next, there was a class of poor white people consisting of mechanics, artisans, and laborers. Last, there was the slave population. Now the government of Virginia was almost exclusively in the hands of the wealthy class. The people of this class had money and the opportunity to provide education for their children by other means than at the expense of the public. They did not, therefore, see the necessity for general public education in order that all the people might share in the conduct of the government. In the northern states, on the other

A "CONSOLIDATED" SCHOOL IN HENRICO COUNTY
Showing school wagons for the transportation of pupils

hand, there were few negro slaves, and society was not divided so strictly into classes. This, then, was another reason why the people of the South failed to establish systems of education at an early date.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC EDUCATION. We have long since ceased to regard the public schools as a charity established by the government. It is true that some persons continue to pay for the education of their children at private

schools. But many persons who can afford to pay for the education of their children nevertheless prefer to send them to the schools provided by the government. It is for each family to decide whether the children of the family shall receive their education at a public or at a private school. The public schools are open to the children of the community regardless of whether their parents can afford to pay for their education or not. It is simply a fact that in Virginia, as well as throughout the United States, the vast majority of children attend public rather than private schools.

LOUISA GRADED AND HIGH SCHOOL

It is the duty of every family to see that the children are sent to school, even though they may sometimes be needed at home. In some states of the Union the government absolutely requires that children of a certain age shall attend some school, either public or private. Laws of this kind are, however, very difficult to enforce. As a matter of fact, such laws ought not to be necessary. The duty of parents in this matter is so clear that the government ought not to be under obligation to compel them to fulfill this duty.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. The building up of an adequate school system by the government is no small undertaking. Year by year the schools of Virginia are being improved in many ways. It is the intention of the government to place within easy reach of every child in the state a well equipped graded school and to establish in each county at least one high school. But the government faces many difficulties in accomplishing this object. In the first place, the necessary money is not always easy to secure. Some communities are very poor. The people object to giving

THREE-ROOM GRADED SCHOOL FOR COLORED PUPILS, NOTTOWAY COUNTY

a great deal of money for the establishment and support of schools. In the second place, the children who live in farming communities are often widely scattered. In order for every child to have a school in his immediate neighborhood it would be necessary to provide a very large number of small schools with poorly paid teachers. In recent years the government has discontinued many small schools and established in their place a single consolidated school. The government has then provided school wagons for the purpose of carrying

the children to and from their homes. These consolidated schools are usually far superior to the small schools which they replace.

Another difficulty which the government has to face in the development of a system of schools is due to the fact that our population is divided into two races. There must be separate schools for each race, and the expense of maintaining schools is thus greatly increased.

OUTDOOR CANNING DEMONSTRATION
Summer Normal School, Harrisonburg, Virginia

In spite of these and other difficulties which the government faces, a great deal has been accomplished in the way of developing the public schools of Virginia. The responsibility for supporting the schools rests largely upon the people of each community. These people should take interest and pride in the proper development of their schools. The government of the state as a whole, however, recognizes that it must assist in building up the school system. It therefore

appropriates a part of the money that is needed for the maintenance of schools. It is unnecessary at this point to describe how the school system is organized and governed. It is sufficient to remark that in very many ways the government attempts to arouse the interest of the people in public education and exerts its constant influence for the improvement of school conditions.

UNIVERSITY OFVIRGINIA
View of the "Lawn," looking toward the library

THE SCHOOLS IN CITIES. In cities the schools are usually better equipped than they are in farming communities. This is due in part to the fact that the property in cities is more valuable than it is in farming communities and there are more wealthy people. It is easier, therefore, to get money for the support of the schools. Moreover, because of the larger number of children who live close together, it is less difficult to establish schools within walking distance of the

children. In every city it is possible also to maintain at least one high school.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION. In addition to the common schools and high schools, the government of Virginia makes some provision for higher education in colleges, institutes, and universities. The University of Virginia at Charlottesville was established in 1818, through the efforts of Thomas Jefferson, and was formally opened in 1825. Every boy in Virginia can secure

A VACATION SUMMER SCHOOL

at this University his college education without the payment of any tuition. At Farmville, Harrisonburg, Fredericksburg, and Radford the government maintains normal schools for the education of women who expect to become teachers. The government lends its support also to the Virginia Military Institute founded at Lexington in 1839, the Virginia Polytechnic Institute founded at Blacksburg in 1872, William and Mary College founded at Williamsburg in 1693, and the Medical College of Virginia at Richmond. The government also

maintains for the colored teachers a normal and industrial school at Petersburg. For the education of the deaf and the blind the government has established a school for white people at Staunton and one for colored people at Newport News.

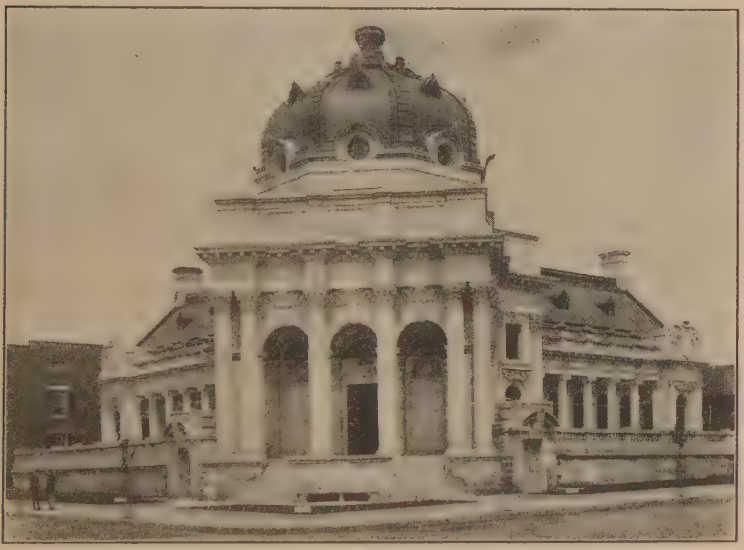
THE SCHOOLHOUSE AND THE COMMUNITY. It seems unnecessary to dwell upon the advantages which we as individuals derive from the schools. The training which

STUDENTS OF VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
In charge of prize dairy cows

pupils receive in the schools and the knowledge which they acquire assist them in countless ways toward making a success of their lives. The schools increase our usefulness to ourselves, our families, and the community in which we live. People do not always realize that the prosperity of a particular community is often advanced by a good school. It is a fact, however, that when families with children desire to

move from one community to another, they are often very particular to inquire about the school facilities. They realize how desirable it is that their children should have the opportunity of attending an up-to-date school; and they are unwilling to make their home in any place where this opportunity is denied to them.

In recent years a movement has been going on in many communities to use the schoolhouses not only for the teaching of children but also for other community or neighborhood pur-



HANDLEY PUBLIC LIBRARY AT WINCHESTER, VA.

poses. Since the schoolhouse belongs to the community, there is really no reason why the grown people of the community should not use it (outside of school hours) for club meetings, lectures, and other community gatherings or entertainments. In some communities the schoolhouse has become a center in which various community activities are carried on;

and this is as it should be. In a few cities in the country the experiment has been tried with success of using the schoolhouses for polling places on election days—that is, places at which the voters of the community may go to cast their votes for candidates who are seeking to become officers of the government. It is probable that in the course of time many schoolhouses will be constructed with a view to their being used for numerous community purposes in addition to teaching.

LIBRARIES. In Richmond there is a large library owned and supported by the government of the state. This library has certain collections of books known as "traveling libraries," which are sent to various parts of the state for temporary use. Many of our schools have established small libraries to be used in connection with school work. In a few cities also the government has established free public libraries. In Norfolk, for example, the building for such a library was given by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and the library is supported at the expense of the city. Of course it is very nearly impossible for the government to establish numerous public libraries in farming communities, but the time will doubtless come when practically every city and village community will have at least one public library, where the people may, without the payment of any fee, secure books and magazines for limited periods of time.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. What evidences are there in your community that the government is helping the people to attain knowledge? Are there public schools? Is there a public library? Is there a high school? A public institution of higher learning? Have you ever seen a traveling library?

2. Explain how your life in the school corresponds to life in your community. What constitutes the school government? Who makes and who enforces the laws? Do you see how your school training will help to make you a better citizen? In what way?

3. Do the people in Virginia govern themselves? What kind of government is this called? Why is education necessary for people who govern themselves? What were Thomas Jefferson's views about this?

4. What are some of the reasons why public education did not develop in Virginia before the war? Why did it develop in New England?

5. Tell what you know of the school system of your community. If there is no high school near you, are the people talking of building one? Who is your county or city superintendent? What are the duties of the school board? Do you know any of its members?

6. Is your school a graded or an ungraded school? Have any schools in your county been consolidated? How are the pupils brought to the school? Why were the schools consolidated? If you are a pupil in a consolidated school, what are some of the advantages you now enjoy which you did not have before?

7. Who builds and pays for the support of public schools? Why does the government do this? Suppose the government did not provide schools, are there not many children who would be deprived of an education?

8. In what ways does the family assist in education? What duty in this respect do parents owe their children? What duty in this respect do you as pupils owe to yourselves, your families, and your community?

9. Is your schoolhouse used for any community purpose after school hours? Can you think of any purpose it could be used for?

A RURAL SCHOOL BASE BALL TEAM

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROADS, STREETS, AND PARKS OF THE PEOPLE

THE NECESSITY FOR GOOD ROADS. In 1790, when Thomas Jefferson arrived in New York to take his position as Secretary of State under the newly formed government of the United States, he wrote as follows to a friend whom he had left in Virginia: "I arrived here on the 21st inst., after as laborious a journey of a fortnight as I ever went through; resting only one day at Alexandria, and another day at Baltimore. I found my carriage and horses at Alexandria, but a snow eighteen inches deep falling the same night, I saw the impossibility of getting on in my carriage, so I left it there, to be sent to me by water, and had my horses led on to this place [New York], taking my passage in the stage, however relieving myself a little sometimes by mounting my horse. The roads through the whole way were so bad that we could never get more than 3 miles an hour, sometimes not more than 2, and in the night but 1."

In this day of speeding railway trains and other conveniences for swift transportation, we can scarcely appreciate the difficulties and discomforts of travel in those early days. Thomas Jefferson took fourteen days to make a trip from Richmond to New York—a journey which we now make in about half as many hours.

The problem of building and maintaining good roads is one in which practically everybody has a direct or indirect interest. In farming communities this interest is too obvious to require mention. Recently many people who live in cities have become directly interested in the country roads because the automobile is now so extensively used. Aside from this, however, the people of cities should not forget that they are

dependent upon the farmers both for their food and for the raw materials which they use in their factories. Although it is true that most of the food and raw materials are carried to the cities by railroad or by boat, it is also true that the vast majority of these products have to be hauled over country roads before they reach the railway depots and the steamboat wharves.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ROADS. In Jefferson's time it was the usual custom for the large planters to build such roads as they needed. At best these roads were of very crude construction. If they were used by others, a toll was charged. Sometimes, also, private companies, usually known as turnpike companies, were organized to construct and maintain roads. These companies went into this business for the purpose of making money. They invariably collected tolls of every person who used the road or roads which they owned. Long ago, however, it became evident that the government itself would have to undertake the construction of roads for the benefit of all the people of the community. Even after the counties of Virginia began to build roads, they usually defrayed all or a part of the expense of construction and maintenance by charging tolls. This toll system is still followed in some parts of the state, and there are still some private roads.

Another plan, adopted at a later date in Virginia, was that of requiring every able-bodied man who resided outside of a city or village to work on the roads two days in every year. If he did not wish to perform this work, he could pay the government a sum of money equal to a laborer's wages for two days. This plan, which existed in Virginia for many years, was not a great success. Some people have the idea that anybody can construct a road. In point of fact the building of a good road requires the skill of a trained engineer. Most farmers do not possess this training.

Provision is now made by which the government of Virginia furnishes a competent road engineer to any county that desires to improve its roads. The government also furnishes a force of laborers made up of convicts from the state penitentiary. The county pays the salary of the engineer and buys the material that is needed for construction, such as gravel, crushed stone, cinders, or shells. The state government also appropriates a comparatively small sum of money

AN UNIMPROVED ROAD IN SPOTTSYLVANIA COUNTY, VIRGINIA

every year to assist the counties in constructing certain roads. Where the state government lends this assistance, it pays half the expenses of construction.

As in the case of the schools, the responsibility for the construction and maintenance of roads rests largely upon the community itself. The construction of good roads is indeed a costly undertaking, but they mean so much to the prosperity and progress of the community that the people are often willing to make the financial sacrifices that are necessary.

As individuals we cannot, of course, undertake to construct and maintain roads in the community in which we live. We can, however, use our influence to get the government to do this.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE ROADS. The government cannot often undertake anything more than the laying down of the roadbed itself. But the individuals who live in farming communities can themselves do many things to improve the appearance of the roads. For one thing they can

SAME ROAD AS SHOWN ON OPPOSITE PAGE, AFTER IMPROVEMENT

and should keep the weeds cut down along the roadsides. When they are clearing out woods to secure land for cultivation, they should always leave trees standing at the road's edge. Indeed the owners of farms could often plant trees along hot and dreary roads with excellent results to their community and with comparatively little expense and trouble to themselves. Many farms could be greatly improved in appearance by the planting of vines to cover unsightly fences. It seems needless to say, moreover, that well-painted houses

and barns, neatly kept barn-yards, a bit of well ordered lawn, and a few trees and flowers contribute not only to the happiness of the family but also to the general appearance of the community.

Some of these things, which add to the attractiveness of the farm community, must of course be neglected at times because of the lack of money. But many of them cost nothing more than a little thought and a little time. When they are not attended to, it is merely because of thoughtlessness

AN ILL-KEPT ROAD
Showing weeds cut from the sides but not removed from the roadbed

or indifference. Naturally the government does not compel us to improve the appearance of our property. We can let it remain as shabby as we choose. But everybody ought to realize that, aside from his own pleasure, he has a real duty toward his community in respect to this matter. There are probably few if any communities in the entire state of Virginia that could not be made vastly more attractive places to live

in, if every body would do for his own property only so much as might reasonably be expected of him.

The schoolhouses themselves are usually built close to some road, and it is not too much to say that they are sometimes shamefully neglected. Even if the school building is a homely one, its appearance can be greatly improved by the planting of a few trees and shrubs and flowers. With a little direction from teachers and parents, the pupils of any school can do

A WELL-KEPT ROAD
Notice how the appearance of this road is improved by trees

much to improve the appearance of their schoolhouse. Especially can they assist by refraining from injury to the school property, by keeping the grounds free from litter and rubbish, and by refusing to place unsightly pictures and writings on walls and fences. The appearance of the schoolhouse and grounds, no matter how simple and plain they may be, ought

to be a matter of individual interest and pride to every person in the community.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CITY STREETS. In cities the government has many obligations toward the streets. In the first place, the streets are either laid out by the government itself or, if laid out by some private person upon his own property, they must be approved by the government. Formerly the government was very careless in determining where and how the streets should run. In consequence the streets of some cities are very badly and inconveniently arranged. In recent years many cities have been giving careful study to this matter. They cannot in most instances make many changes in existing streets, for this is a costly undertaking. But they are determined that, as the city grows, new streets shall be opened up in accordance with a carefully designed scheme or plan. This has come to be known as "city planning."

In the second place, the government undertakes to pave the streets. The sidewalks are usually paved with bricks or with concrete made of crushed stone, sand, and cement. Many of the roadways of the streets are also paved, either with stone blocks, or with brick, or with asphalt, which is a hard substance commonly made of tar, lime, and sand. In selecting the pavement for a street roadway the government usually considers the kind of traffic for which the street is used. In residential streets sheet asphalt or asphalt blocks have become the most popular paving; but in parts of the business district, where the streets are used chiefly by heavy wagons and trucks, stone blocks are commonly used. In all cases culverts are provided at the corners so that the streets may be drained of rain water.

In the third place, the government permits the streets to be used for other purposes than walking or driving, which is of course their chief use. Mains and pipes are laid beneath the surface of the streets in order that water and gas may be fur-

nished to the inhabitants of the city, and in order that sewage may be carried off from their homes. The government also permits street car companies to lay tracks on certain of the streets, while telephone and telegraph and electric lighting companies are allowed to erect poles and string wires along the streets. As we have seen, however, the government reserves the right to regulate the business of these companies in return for the special privileges they enjoy, and it usually also makes them pay for the use which they make of the streets.

A CONVICT ROAD CAMP
In such camps are state convicts housed while they are engaged in road construction

THE APPEARANCE OF THE STREETS. Just as it is the duty of the people who live in farming communities to improve the appearance of their property along the roads, so it is the duty of city residents to improve their property along the streets and thus add to the appearance of their neighborhoods. Whenever a person improves the appearance of his

own home or yard, he serves not only himself but also his community. The streets belong to everybody; it is, therefore, the duty of everybody to assist at all times in keeping them clean. This is true also of the parks. The person who scatters papers and other rubbish in the streets and parks of a city simply ignores a plain duty which he owes to other people who reside in the community with him. In many cities the government provides trash boxes on street corners and in the parks, and the persons who do not use these boxes have no excuse for throwing rubbish elsewhere.

In cities the government itself finds it possible to do many things to increase the attractiveness of the streets. The paving of streets has already been mentioned. In addition to this, the government undertakes to keep the roadways of streets clean. In some cities this is accomplished for the most part at night, in order not to interfere with traffic, and in order to save the people as much as possible from the inconvenience of dust, especially when street-sweeping wagons are used.

The government also plants rows of trees along the sidewalks of many streets. Occasionally the roadway of a wide street is divided so that grass plots and trees may be planted in the center of the street. In recent years, also, cities have been giving a good deal of attention to the manner of lighting the streets. They have been careful to select light standards that are ornamental instead of unsightly. It is to be regretted that the streets in so many of our cities are spoiled by a network of telegraph, telephone, and trolley wires and by the numerous poles that are required to support these wires. Some of the larger cities in Virginia have already insisted that many wires should be put under the streets in what are known as conduits. The day will probably come when in all the larger cities the government will demand that all wires be placed underground. Even the overhead trolley wires will

give way to the more improved underground system, although this latter system is far more expensive to construct.

THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STREETS. Not only does the government undertake to improve the streets in many ways, but it is also responsible for keeping them in a safe condition. Sometimes a street is temporarily closed for repairs or for excavations, and sometimes when buildings are being erected or torn down, the street is partially obstructed. The government, however, prevents

A WELL-KEPT STREET IN PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA
Observe, however, how the appearance of the street is marred by unsightly poles and wires

people from placing unnecessary obstructions in the streets. Moreover, the government must see to it that the sidewalks and roadways of the streets are kept in sufficient repair to prevent accidents from happening to those who use them. If a person is injured as a result of the failure of the government to care for the streets, he has the right to sue the government and to recover a sum of money for the damage that he has suffered.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARKS. The people who live in farming communities can usually live out of doors as much as they choose. But in cities, where the houses are built close together, the government sets apart certain open spaces for parks, in order that the people may secure rest and recreation free from the noise and dust and dangers of the streets. These parks are usually laid out with paths and grass plots; trees and flowers are planted; and monuments and fountains are erected. They not only add much to the appearance of the city but are also of great benefit to the inhabitants, especially during the hot months of the summer. Occasionally the government even provides band concerts for the pleasure of the people who use the parks.

In recent years some cities have undertaken to provide special playgrounds for the children of the city. Children ought to play out of doors as much as possible, and it is well recognized that the streets are not the proper place for numbers of children to gather for their play. These playgrounds are arranged so that various games may be played and are otherwise equipped for the amusement and athletic development of the young people of the community. Sometimes also the government provides for such playgrounds an instructor or director who supervises and assists the children in organizing their play.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. What means are afforded in your community for your getting to and from school? Describe the condition of the roads and streets over which you travel. Is your school building attractive? Are there any trees, shrubs, or flowers in the yard? Are the pupils careful to keep the building and yard clean? Can you think of some things that could easily be done to make your school more attractive?

2. If you live in a farming community, describe the condition of the various roads that you know about. Of what are they constructed? Are they in need of repair? Find out who is responsible for repairing the roads. Do you know of any road that has recently been repaired? How was it done?

3. Are there any toll roads in your community? Who owns them? Why was the method of having farmers work on the roads two days in the year given up?

4. Has the state appropriated any money for road-building in your community? Has it furnished a supervising engineer? Has it furnished convicts from the state penitentiary? If the roads in your community are in need of repair, find out who is responsible for not securing this assistance which the state offers. Are the people of your community unwilling to pay their share of the expense?

5. Select certain typical roads in your community and tell what you think could be done to improve their appearance and comfort? Are your schoolhouse and grounds an ornament or an eyesore to the community?

6. If you live in a city or town, describe how the sidewalks are paved. Who paved them? Are they kept in good repair? Are the roadbeds of the streets paved? If so, what are they paved with and who paved them?

7. What kind of trees are set out along the streets of your city? Are they satisfactory as shade trees? Are they ornamental? What can you do to improve the appearance of the streets?

8. What are the names of the several parks in your city and where are they located? Draw a map of one of them that you are familiar with. Are the parks well kept? Why does the government establish and maintain parks in cities? What use do the people make of them?

9. What uses are made of the streets of your city in addition to their use for walking and driving? Can you place any obstruction that you choose in the streets? If you are injured as a result of some unnecessary obstruction or defect in the streets, have you any right against the government?

SECOND PART

ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE

THE MEANING OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION. During the period of our history before the Revolutionary War, each of the thirteen colonies in America was under the control of the government of England. The colonies exercised only those rights and powers which the English government permitted. That government also determined very largely how the colonial laws should be made and in most of the colonies appointed the governor. Under this system the colonists actually enjoyed a large degree of self-government, for they were allowed to make most of the laws by which they were governed and to choose most of their governmental officers.

When the Revolutionary War broke out, Virginia was governed in this manner. The war, however, freed the colonies from the control of the mother country; and the people of each colony were forced to provide some other form of government. Lord Dunmore, the colonial Governor of Virginia, fled for his life; the House of Burgesses, the law-making body of the colony, dissolved itself; and the old government passed away. Something had to be done, for the people could not exist without any government. And this is what happened. In May, 1776, a convention composed of

two delegates from each county in Virginia met at Williamsburg and drew up a document providing for a form of government very similar to that which had existed during the colonial period. This written document declared what officers should be chosen and how they should be chosen, what powers these officers should have, and who should make and administer the laws. This is what we mean by a constitution. It is a written document framed by delegates representing the people of the state and providing in outline the organization of the government.

THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA'S CONSTITUTIONS. There were naturally many defects in this first constitution of Virginia, framed as it was in great haste at the outbreak of our war for independence. It is marvelous indeed that it was strong enough to last fifty-four years. There were two chief defects in this constitution. In the first place, only men of considerable property could vote or hold office. As Thomas Jefferson ironically remarked, the government of Virginia was in the hands of those who were "distinguished by the luxury and ostentation of their establishments." In the second place, the people in the different parts of the state were not equally represented in the law-making body. In consequence, they did not enjoy an equal share in the management of their own government.

Soon after the Revolutionary War adventurers began to push in large numbers across the Alleghany Mountains into what is now West Virginia, but was then an unsettled part of Virginia. This movement of population during the early years of the nineteenth century was very rapid. By 1815 two-fifths of the white population of Virginia lived on the other side of the mountains. They were for the most part poor pioneers. Few of them owned enough property to vote. There were few large plantations and few slaves. In fact, the whole character of these people differed from that of the land-owning inhabitants of the eastern part of the state.

Under the constitution of 1776 they had little share in the government. They were allowed to hold almost no offices, and they did not have a fair representation in the body which made laws for the state.

For years the people of this western part of Virginia clamored for changes in the state constitution. But it was only after a long and bitter struggle that a convention finally met at Richmond in the winter of 1829-30 and drew up a new constitution. This second constitution did not prove very satisfactory, however, and in 1850-51 a third constitution was framed by a convention representing the people of the state.

The constitution of 1851 lasted throughout the period of the War Between the States. It was during the terrible period of reconstruction, in December, 1867, that our fourth constitutional convention came together. It did not represent the people of Virginia. Its membership was composed almost entirely of Northerners and of recently freed negroes. The constitution which they adopted was known as the "Underwood Constitution," taking its name from the president of the convention. It was by no means wholly bad, however, and the people of Virginia lived under it, with a few changes, for a period of more than thirty years.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA. In 1901-02 our fifth and last convention met and framed the constitution under which our government is at present organized. The chief reforms which the people felt it was necessary to make were, first, a reduction in the number of officers in the state, and consequently in the expenses of the government; and second, the placing of new restrictions upon the right to vote. However, many other changes were also made.

Our present constitution is a long document, covering many printed pages. The convention which framed it sat for twelve months fully and carefully considering the great work before them. The constitution provides in detail how the govern-

ment shall be organized. It enumerates all the chief officers of the government and outlines their powers and duties. It determines who shall have the right to vote and hold the various offices. It provides also for the establishment of local governments in the different communities of the state.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION. The constitution is often spoken of as the *fundamental* law of the state. This is because it is superior in rank and importance to any other law. The constitution, as we shall see, provides for a legislature of the state and empowers this legislature to make laws. Moreover our various county and city governments have the power to make local laws. But in making these laws the legislature and the local governments of the state must always consider the constitution. If they pass a law which violates any provision of the constitution, the courts, as we shall see, will simply declare that the thing which they have called a law is not in fact a law at all; and the courts will refuse to enforce it. For example, as we have seen, the government cannot deprive us of our freedom of speech and the press, except as we abuse this freedom and thus injure others. This is because the constitution says that "any citizen may speak freely, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right." Now if the legislature should be so foolish as to enact a law prohibiting a person from publishing an ordinary newspaper, the courts would simply say that in spite of this law he could go ahead with the publication of his paper.

This is merely a single illustration; for, as we have seen, we have many other personal and property rights which the government may not take away from us. This is because these rights are written down in the constitution; and neither the legislature nor any officer of the government can ignore or violate the constitution. It is higher than the government itself, and this is why it is called the fundamental law of the state.

HOW THE CONSTITUTION MAY BE CHANGED. So important is the constitution that it may be changed only by unusual procedure. The legislature of the state may indeed propose amendments to the constitution. But when any amendment has been proposed by one legislature, it must wait until a new legislature has been elected and must receive the approval of this new legislature. After that it must be submitted to the people themselves and the voters cast their ballots for or against the proposal. If a majority of the voters are in favor of the amendment thus proposed, it then becomes a part of the constitution.

We have seen that we have had a number of constitutional conventions in Virginia. Whenever it seems desirable to have an entirely new constitution, the legislature asks the people to vote on the question of whether they wish a convention to be called for the purpose of revising the constitution. If a majority of the voters are in favor of calling such a convention, the legislature then makes provision for its coming together.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. How were we governed in Virginia during the colonial period? Who determined our form of government? Were we permitted to make any of our laws? To choose any of our officers? How did the Revolutionary War change our situation?

2. Who determines our form of government to-day? How is this done? What is meant by a constitution? How many constitutions have we had in Virginia? How were these constitutions drawn up?

3. Explain how the constitution protects our liberties. Against whom are they protected? How may the constitution be changed? Why may our law-makers not change it?

4. When was our present constitution framed? By whom was it framed? Find out, if you can, the names of some of the members of the convention of 1901-02. Who represented your county or city?

CHAPTER X

THE VOTES OF THE PEOPLE

THE MEANING OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. As we have seen, the government is really an organization which lays down and enforces certain laws that the people must obey, and which undertakes many services for the benefit of the people. It would be manifestly impossible for all the people of Virginia to come together and themselves make the laws for the entire state. Indeed it would be very inconvenient, if not impossible, for the people of an entire county or city to come together and enact the laws for their own community. The people of Virginia have solved this difficulty by establishing what is known as representative government. Instead of making the laws directly for themselves they choose certain representatives to do this for them. For example, the people of every county choose a group of representatives known as the board of supervisors. These representatives make laws for the county. The people of every city choose a group of representatives that are commonly known as the city council. This council makes the laws for the city. The people of the entire state choose a group of representatives known as the General Assembly, and this body makes the laws for the entire state. In addition to these several groups who *make* the laws, the people choose other representatives to *enforce* the laws and to manage the various services which the government undertakes for the benefit of the people.

The people control their government through these representatives whom they themselves elect. Perhaps the most important right that we as a people have is our right to vote for or against the persons who offer themselves as candidates

to represent us in the government. Our representatives are responsible to us for the kind of laws they enact and for the manner in which they enforce these laws and carry on the various governmental services. If we are not satisfied with the way the government is being carried on, we have the right to turn our existing representatives out of office and to choose others in whom we have greater confidence.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE. When we say that the *people* choose representatives to carry on the government for them, we do not mean that every person in each community has the right to vote. For many reasons this is not the case. For example, the children are not permitted to share in selecting the officers of the government. Nor are the women of Virginia permitted to vote at elections, although in a number of states in the Union the right to vote has been extended to women. Again, foreigners (that is, persons who have not yet become citizens of the United States), and citizens of other states who happen to be temporarily in Virginia at the time of an election, cannot cast votes. Moreover, we do not allow men to vote in Virginia who cannot read and write. The more intelligent people of the state have concluded that a man who cannot even read and write, and who must in consequence be very ignorant of what is going on in the world, is not a fit person to help in choosing the officers of the government. Finally, we exclude from the right to vote persons who are insane or who are paupers and have to be supported by the government, and persons who have been convicted of crime.

It is clear, therefore, that many persons are denied the right to share in choosing the officers of the government. There are more than two million people in the state of Virginia, but in the election held in 1912, at which Woodrow Wilson was chosen President of the United States, only 136,976 votes were cast. This means that only one person out of every sixteen cast a vote. In 1913, when we elected a governor in Virginia, only 72,417 votes were cast. This means that only one person

out of every twenty-eight cast a vote. It must not be understood that these numbers represent all of the persons who *might* have cast votes; for there were doubtless many persons who did not take advantage of their right to vote. These figures illustrate, however, how very small is the number of persons who actually participate in selecting the officers of the government.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING. We have just noted the various classes of persons who are not permitted to vote in Virginia. The constitution itself determines who has the right to vote. It may be well, therefore, to set down the list of qualifications which the constitution prescribes. *In the first place*, a person entitled to vote must be of the male sex; he must be a citizen of the United States (that is, one who was born in the United States or who, having been born abroad, has become a citizen of the United States by swearing away his allegiance to any other government); and he must be at least twenty-one years of age. *In the second place*, he must have resided in the state of Virginia for at least two years, and in the particular county or city in which he offers to vote, for at least one year. For voting purposes the various communities of the state are divided into precincts or election districts; and the law provides that a man offering to vote shall have resided in his precinct or election district for at least thirty days. *In the third place*, a man who desires to vote must be registered. This means that his name must be recorded in what is known as a registration book. The law provides that in each election district there shall be an officer known as a registrar. On a certain day in May and another day in October of every year this officer sits at some convenient place in the district to receive and record the names of those who are entitled to register. On these days any person whose name is not already registered and who expects to vote at the election must present himself, prove his qualifications, and have his name properly enrolled upon the book.

Such a person may also register on any other day provided he can locate the registrar. On the day of election only those are permitted to vote whose names are found in the registration book. *In the fourth place*, every male resident of Virginia who is over twenty-one years of age is required to pay a yearly poll-tax of one dollar and fifty cents. No man can vote at any election who has not paid his poll-taxes for the three years preceding the election. This requirement in itself operates to reduce the number of voters; for if a man has, for one reason or another, neglected to pay his poll-taxes for a few years, he is compelled to pay the sum of four dollars and fifty cents before he can be registered as a voter. His own interest in, and duty toward, the government should prevent him from subjecting himself to this penalty. *In the fifth place*, when a man presents himself for registration, he is required to make application in his own handwriting. If he cannot write, he cannot be registered and therefore cannot vote.

These are the most important qualifications which, under the constitution, every man must have in order to qualify as a voter.

THE PLACES OF VOTING. As we shall see a little later, every county in Virginia is for certain purposes of government divided into magisterial districts and every city into wards. Often these districts and wards are for voting purposes also divided into precincts, or election districts. In each precinct, or election district, there is one place, called a polling-place, at which the voters who live in the district may cast their votes at any election. In charge of these polling-places are certain election officers who are appointed in accordance with the law. These officers first examine the books and determine whether a person desiring to vote is properly registered. If his registration proves to be satisfactory, they then permit him to cast his vote.

THE VOTING. In the early days of our history it was the custom, when a voter went to the polls, to read him the names

of the candidates for office and to ask him which candidate he desired to vote for. Thereupon the voter would call the name of the candidate of his choice. Under such a system everybody knew how everybody else voted. The result was that men could not always vote with independence, because of what other people might think of them. They might be made to suffer in some way for voting as they thought best.

Today, however, we have a wholly different system. It is usually impossible for anybody to know how anybody else votes. When a person goes to the polls, he is given a slip of paper called a ballot with the names of the different candidates printed on it. He then retires to a booth, where no one else is permitted, and with a pen he draws a line through the names of the candidates whom he opposes, leaving unscratched the name of the candidate of his choice. He folds his ballot and hands it to one of the election officers, who deposits it in a sealed ballot box. None of these ballots are examined until the election is closed. It is impossible for one voter to tell how any other voter has cast his ballot; for when the ballot box is opened, nobody can tell who cast this or that ballot.

The election lasts for one day, from sunrise to sunset. At its close the ballot boxes are opened and the ballots are counted. The count, or return as it is called, is then sent to the county board or the city board appointed for that purpose, and these boards add up the returns from the various voting precincts. In case the election is for state officers, these local boards send their returns to the capital at Richmond, where the returns for the whole state are added and the result of the election is announced.

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL. In Virginia the voter shares in the conduct of the government chiefly by casting his ballot for the choice of officers of the government. Occasionally also he is called upon to vote for or against an amendment to the constitution, or to vote directly on some question, such, for example, as whether the

sale of intoxicating liquors shall be prohibited in the state. In some other states of the Union the voters are permitted to share more directly in the conduct of the government. For example, a group of voters may themselves draw up a proposed law and petition the government to have it passed. This is known as the "initiative." If the legislative body does not itself enact this law, they are compelled to let the voters decide by their own votes whether or not it shall be a law. Moreover, if the legislature passes a certain law, and some of the voters are opposed to it, they may petition to have it submitted directly to the voters. This is known as the "referendum," which means a proposition *referred* to the voters. This plan of letting the voters share somewhat directly in the making of laws has not been adopted in Virginia.

Another scheme by which the voters of some states control the officers of the government is known as the "recall." All of our officers are elected for definite terms of office—for example, for a term of two or of four years. If we happen to choose an unsatisfactory officer, we usually have to wait until his term is ended before we can elect someone else in his place. Under the recall, however, if a group of voters are dissatisfied with any officer, they may petition to have him recalled *before* the end of his term. This means that a special election must be held, and the voters can then decide whether they will retain the officer in question or put some other person in his place.

THE DUTY OF THE VOTER. Unfortunately many excellent men have the idea that it is beneath them "to dabble in politics." By their indifference they sometimes permit the affairs of the government to be directed by low political bosses and shrewd schemers who have only their own interests at heart. Nothing can be more hurtful to any community than this attitude which some good men assume. Of course it is impossible for every man to enter politics. It is not even desirable. But every man should be interested in all the

undertakings of the government, and this means that he should be interested in what we call politics.

He should keep himself thoroughly in touch with what the government is doing. He should try to learn which of two or more men desiring a particular office is the most honest and the most capable. He should lend his influence in private conversation, and if need be in public, to keep bad men out of office. In every way possible he should further the best interests of his community through the government. Not only this, but the best men of the community should not hold themselves aloof from the service of the government. Nearly always there are plenty of men who desire to be officers; but frequently none of them are the right sort of men for public office, and it is sometimes difficult to get better men to see that it is their duty to serve. The great hope of any state is that its more intelligent men will be wide awake to every movement which concerns the welfare of their community and state, and that whenever it is possible they will use their influence to better the conditions of the government.

THE DUTY OF THOSE WHO DO NOT VOTE. It is true, as we have seen, that many persons in Virginia do not have the right to vote. But every man, woman, and child, whether he votes or not, should be interested in the government and contribute in every way that he can to promote the welfare of the community. The women, for example, both as individuals and in their charitable and other organizations, may often bring to the attention of the government matters which need to be attended to. The children can in many ways improve the conditions of the schools which the government provides. Indeed, our study thus far must have made it clear that the government cannot and does not undertake to do *everything* that the people of a community need. Much is left to be done by individuals and by private associations of individuals, who may or may not be voters. Not only can these individuals and associations influence the govern-

ment, but they can also do many things for the community which the government must of necessity leave undone.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. What do we mean by democratic government? Would it be possible in your community for the people to make their laws directly? How are the laws made? Who makes the laws for the whole state? What kind of government do we call this? Why?

2. Explain how a man shares in the government by voting. Why do not children have this right? Women? Foreigners? Citizens of other states? Insane people?

3. Why does the constitution require that a voter shall be able to write? Should an illiterate man be trusted to hold office? To choose officers? Why?

4. Mention all the qualifications for voters in Virginia. Take each of these qualifications separately, and tell whether you think it is necessary or unnecessary, and why.

5. Find out, if you can, how many magisterial districts there are in your county, or how many wards there are in your city. Find out, if you can, how many precincts or election districts there are in your magisterial district or ward. In what precinct or election district do you live? Find out where the voting place of your precinct or election district was located at the last election.

6. Explain the old method of voting. Explain how the votes are cast to-day. What was accomplished by the change from the old method? What is the ballot? The ballot box?

7. What is meant by the initiative? The referendum? The recall?

8. Explain how it is the duty of every man to be interested in politics. To whom does the government belong? Explain how the government is a part of us. What is our duty toward it? How will we suffer if we fail in this duty?

9. Mention some of the ways in which those who do not vote may influence and assist the government.

CHAPTER XI

POLITICAL PARTIES

THE MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTIES. In every country in which the government is established and maintained by the votes of the people, it invariably happens that organizations of the voters, known as political parties, develop. There are always differences of opinion among the voters as to what the government ought and ought not to do. The voters who in a general way agree with one another upon certain policies for the government usually come together and form an organization to promote these policies. The voters who disagree with them and hold other views also organize. In this way the voters are usually divided into two or more political party organizations.

Although political parties sometimes go out of existence, and parties with new names and new policies are formed, it is a fact that political parties are more or less permanent organizations. Everybody knows, for instance, of the Democratic and Republican parties, these being the two great organizations to which most of the voters of the United States belong. There are also other smaller parties, however, such as the Socialist and the Prohibition parties. The principal object of every political party is to secure the election to the various offices of the government of persons who belong to the party, and who, when they are in office, will carry out the policies which their party is in favor of. Every party organization is, therefore, very active in letting the voters of the community know what governmental policies the party favors. In many ways each party tries to induce as many voters as possible to cast their ballots in favor of those candidates who stand as representatives of the party and its policies.

THE ORGANIZATION OF PARTIES. Political parties are not really a part of the government. They merely seek to control the government by getting members of the party into office. In order to accomplish this, however, it is necessary for each party to organize with certain party officers and with certain rules that govern the activities of the party. This organization of political parties is accomplished chiefly by means of committees. In every party there is a state committee having general control of the affairs of the party in the state. In addition to this, there are local committees in the different counties and cities of the state. These committees arrange for political meetings and for addresses to be delivered by party leaders and candidates for office. They also determine many important questions in regard to the method of choosing the candidates who are to stand for the party. In the weeks and months that precede an election, they stir up general interest among the voters and in every way try to draw out as large a vote as possible for their candidates.

THE NOMINATION OF PARTY CANDIDATES. It is absolutely necessary that every political party should, *before* any election is held, choose a party candidate for each office that is to be filled by election. If this were not done, it might well happen that two or more persons representing the *same* party would stand for election to a particular office, and the voters of the party would divide their votes among these candidates. If at the same election it happened that some smaller party had only *one* candidate for this office, and if the voters of this party cast *all* of their ballots for this candidate, the result might be that this candidate of the smaller party would be elected. He would not receive a majority of the votes cast, but he might receive a larger number of votes than any single one of the several candidates of the larger party.

The choosing of persons who are to stand for the party at any election is called the nomination of candidates. Formerly in Virginia, as elsewhere in the United States, candidates for office were invariably chosen at what were known as party conventions. These conventions consisted of delegates who represented the voters of the party. At the present time the law permits any political party organization in Virginia to select its candidates for office in any way that it chooses. Candidates are, however, chosen in two principal ways. The first of these is by the system of party conventions just noted. The second is by a system known as a primary election. The law now provides that a primary election for the nomination of party candidates for state and county offices shall be held every year on the first Tuesday in August. Another primary election for the nomination of candidates for city offices is held on the first Tuesday in April in any year in which a city election is to be held. No party is *required* to choose its candidates at these primary elections, but every party is permitted to do so.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS. A primary election is conducted in very much the same way as a regular election. It is held at the same polling places, and there are officers to conduct the election. When a voter presents himself at the polls on primary day, he is compelled to declare which party he supported at the preceding general election. If he declares, for example, that he supported the Democratic party, he is given a ballot containing the names of persons who want to become candidates for that party. Such a voter cannot demand, and he will not be given, the ballot of the Republican party. In case he failed to cast any ballot at the preceding general election, he is required to declare which party he *intends* to support at the *coming* election, and he is given the ballot of that party. The reason why every voter is thus required to declare himself is because a primary election is really an election *within* the party. It is not just that per-

sons who do not belong to a particular party, and who have not supported and do not intend to support the candidates of that party, should, nevertheless, have the right to assist in deciding who shall be the candidates of that party.

Of course this system destroys to a considerable extent the secrecy of the ballot, for a voter is not allowed to participate in a primary election unless he declares either how he has voted at the last election or how he intends to vote at the coming election. There is in fact little to prevent a voter from deceiving the election officers in this matter, if he wants to do so. These officers must usually accept his word. He may, for example, on primary day, wish to vote for the candidates of the Democratic party. In order to do so, he may declare that he supported that party at the last election, when in fact he did not do so. Or he may declare that he intends to support that party at the coming election, when in fact he has no such intention. Nobody knows how he *actually* voted at the last election; and nobody will know how he *actually* votes at the coming election. This is a matter, therefore, which is left to each voter's conscience. It seems clear, however, that when a man has shared in choosing the candidates of a particular party, he is certainly under a strong *moral* obligation to support that party at the regular election which follows.

This system of primary elections was established because it was thought that party conventions, consisting of a limited number of the members of a particular party, frequently did not represent the wishes of the rank and file of the party in choosing party candidates for office. A primary election is, strictly speaking, not an election at all. It simply results in the selection of the candidates whose names are placed on the ballot as the choice of the party at the real election which follows. It is often the case, however, that where a great majority of the voters belong to one particular party, the primary election is really more important than the regular

election. If a man is chosen as the candidate of such a party at the primary, he is very nearly certain to be elected at the regular election.

THE CANDIDATES FOR NOMINATION AT PRIMARY ELECTIONS. In order to become a candidate for nomination at a primary election (which means that, if successful at the primary election, the candidate becomes the party candidate at the regular election) a person must formally declare his intention to become such a candidate, and he must be supported by a petition signed by a number of voters. If he is a candidate for a state office, such as the governorship for example, two hundred and fifty voters must sign his petition. If he is a candidate for a city or county office, fifty voters must sign his petition.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Try to find out which political party is the stronger in your community. Are most of your county or city officers Democrats or Republicans? To what political party do the present Governor and the other state officers belong?

2. Explain how political parties are organized. Why is it necessary for them to organize? What powers and duties have the party committees? Find out, if you can, what party committees there are in your community.

3. Explain why it is necessary for parties to choose candidates before the election. What would be the probable result if they did not do so? In what two ways are party candidates chosen? Were your present city or county officers nominated at a party convention or at a direct primary election? In what way were the present Governor and other elected state officers nominated?

4. What is meant by a primary election? When are such elections held? How are the voters of the Republican party prevented from voting in a primary election of the Democratic party, and *vice versa*?

5. How does a person become a candidate for the choice of his party at a primary election?

CHAPTER XII

THE STATE LEGISLATURE

THE THREE DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT. There are certain duties which the government undertakes to perform for the people of the state as a whole. It is impossible to enumerate the complete list of such duties. It is sufficient to say in a general way that the state government makes and enforces such laws and undertakes such services as seem inappropriate to be regulated by the local governments, such as counties, towns, and cities. For the purpose of making state laws there is a group of representatives who constitute what is known as the legislative department of the government. There is another group of state officers who see that the laws are enforced and who manage certain services which the government of the entire state carries on. This group constitutes what is known as the executive department of the government. There is still a third group of officers whose duty it is to explain and apply the law and to settle controversies between persons under the law. This group consists of judges and is known as the judiciary department.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. The legislative department of the state government is divided into two bodies, or houses, as they are called. Every proposal for law that is agreed to by either one of these houses must also be agreed to by the other before it becomes a law. This prevents laws from being hastily made. One of these houses is known as the House of Delegates, the other as the Senate. Together they constitute what is known as the General Assembly of Virginia.

The constitution declares that the House of Delegates shall never consist of less than ninety nor more than one hundred

members, and that the number of senators shall not be less than thirty-three nor more than forty. The House of Delegates is therefore much larger than the Senate. For the purpose of electing delegates the entire state is divided into what is known as house districts. The General Assembly itself determines what counties and cities shall be grouped together to form a district. It also determines the number of delegates to be elected in each district. As nearly as possible each delegate represents the same number of people. Populous districts, whether consisting of a single large city or large county or of a group of counties and cities, are given more than one delegate. In the majority of districts, however, only a single delegate is elected. The members of the House of Delegates are chosen by the voters of the several districts in November of every odd-numbered year—that is, in 1917, 1919, 1921, and so on.

For the election of senators the state is divided into senatorial districts. These districts are either much larger than the house districts or else they have fewer senators than delegates. Each senator is elected for a term of four years. Provision is made, however, so that half of the whole number of senators are elected in November of every odd-numbered year, at the same time that delegates are chosen.

The General Assembly meets in the January following the November elections—that is, once in every two years. Each senator and delegate is paid five hundred dollars per session. In order to prevent the General Assembly from wasting its time, the constitution requires that it shall sit for only sixty days. In case of necessity, however, the session may be extended thirty days longer, provided that three-fifths of the members of each house agree to this extension. Moreover, under extraordinary circumstances the Governor may call the General Assembly in extra session.

Each house of the General Assembly has the power to choose its own officers, and to determine the rules by which its de-

bates and other affairs must be conducted. The one exception to this is that the Lieutenant-Governor presides over the Senate. The presiding officer of the House of Delegates is called the Speaker. In addition to the presiding officer there are a number of other officers and clerks in each house.

Each member has his own desk, and these desks are arranged in rows facing the presiding officer's chair. Visitors are usually prohibited from coming upon the "floor" of either house; but galleries are provided to which the public is freely admitted.

THE MAKING OF THE LAWS. Nearly every member who is elected to the General Assembly goes to the capital with the idea of getting certain measures enacted into laws. Sometimes the people who elect him express their desire to have this or that law passed. Sometimes an individual citizen asks a member to present a proposition for a law. Frequently also the Governor and the other important officers, who are thoroughly in touch with the needs of the state, desire certain laws enacted.

Every member of either house has the right to introduce any measure that he sees fit. The measure when introduced is known as a bill. Instead of being taken up at once for debate, every bill is referred to an appropriate committee. Provision is made for a number of standing committees in each house, and each committee has for its consideration measures that relate to one particular branch of the government's work. In the committee room the proposed measure is talked over and worked over. Often the committee holds what is known as a hearing, at which persons who are interested may appear and favor or oppose the measure. Later the committee makes a report to the house, recommending either that the measure be passed or that it be voted down.

When the committee has reported a bill, the house opens debate on it after it has been printed and read on three separate days. The bill may be amended by the house in

any way, or it may be rejected. The house is largely influenced, however, by the report of the committee which has made a special investigation of the subject. In case the bill is passed in one house, it must then be sent to the other house where it goes through a very similar process. In the end it may be approved, or amended, or voted down.

This is the manner in which every measure proceeds through the legislature. The committee system makes it possible to handle many propositions in the short term of sixty days. It also provides for a careful consideration of every proposal.

THE POWERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. The General Assembly may pass any law that it is not forbidden by the constitution to pass, and which does not conflict with the laws made by the national government at Washington. It is necessary for the constitution to specify only those things which the legislature may *not* do. Chief among the restrictions placed upon the legislature are those which secure to the people certain rights which we have already discussed, such, for example, as the freedom of speech and religion, and the right not to have property taken from them by the government without just compensation.

The legislature is also prohibited from passing what is known as "special acts" in regard to a long series of subjects. This is to prevent the time of the law-makers from being taken up in enacting laws for a particular locality, or a special individual, and also to secure to every person in the state equal rights before the law.

Aside from these restrictions upon the powers of the legislature, the General Assembly may pass any act it pleases. It is not necessary for us to examine in detail what the nature of these laws is. It is sufficient to say that they regulate, among numerous other things, business relations, property relations, and the marriage relations of the people of the state, and provide for the raising of taxes, the educational interests, and the affairs of railways and other corporations.

THE STATE CAPITOL. The General Assembly meets at Richmond, the capital city of the state. In a handsome park, beautifully laid out and containing splendid statues and monuments, stands the capitol building in which the legislature holds its sessions. The central portion of this building was built in 1833. Within its walls have been heard some of the most distinguished men that have figured in the

THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES
Showing the desks at which the members sit during the sessions of the General Assembly

history of the United States. Here, too, the Congress of the Confederacy sat. Because of its age and the many historical associations that surround it, this building has become very dear to the people of Virginia. With the growth of the business of the government, however, it became entirely

inadequate, and some years ago it was found necessary to add two large wings to the central structure. The original building was, however, preserved. Even with these additional wings, the capitol building is too small to accommodate all the officers of the state government.

INFLUENCES UPON OUR LAW-MAKERS. When a man has been chosen to the legislature many people suppose that it is a very simple matter for him always to vote honestly and intelligently. Perhaps it ought to be; but as a matter of fact a great many influences are brought to bear upon members of the legislature which most of us do not fully appreciate. In the first place, a member usually desires to be re-elected at the end of his term of office. Sometimes the voters who have elected him are controlled by a man known as the political boss of the community. The member realizes that he must, to some extent at least, act so as to please this boss if he is to hope for re-election.

In the second place, when a measure is proposed that is disadvantageous to some large corporation, or to the people engaged in a certain kind of business (as, for instance, the liquor business), all sorts of efforts are made to induce the law-makers to ignore the interests of the people. Shrewd lawyers and other crafty men are sent to Richmond to use their influence upon the members of the legislature, and to convince them, if possible, that the proposed measure is *not* for the interests of the people. This is called lobbying. Many bad laws are made, and many good measures fail to be enacted by reason of the influence which lobbyists frequently use. It must not be thought, however, that all lobbying is of this kind. Many good men also go before the committees of the legislature and lobby with its members to secure the passage of wise laws.

In the third place, the law-makers are often severely criticised by the newspapers, and sometimes this criticism is unjust. It is a very difficult matter for a man in public life

to please everybody and to do only what is right. Our law-makers have no easy task. If some of them do not serve the people as they should, we ought to remember that we are partly responsible for this. It is the duty of the people in every community to choose as their representatives in the law-making body of the state the most intelligent and the most honorable men that can be induced to serve. And it is the duty of a delegate or senator thus chosen to follow his sound judgment on every question before him. He should consider always only the best interests of the state, regardless of his personal ambitions, and in spite of the influences that sometimes seek at times to turn him aside.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. What is the law-making body of the state of Virginia called? Into what two branches is it divided? Does your city or county constitute a house district by itself? If not, find out what other communities are grouped with it to form your house district. Find out, if you can, how many representatives your district has in the House of Delegates. Do you know the names of any present representatives?

2. If you live in a county, find out what other counties are grouped with yours to form your senatorial district. If you live in a city, find out whether your city constitutes a senatorial district by itself. If not, what other communities are grouped with it? Find out, if you can, the name of the present senator, or senators, from your district.

3. Who presides over the Senate? Over the House of Delegates? Have you ever been to the capitol building at Richmond? If so, describe the park. Describe the building. If you have seen the chambers in which the houses meet, describe them. Have you ever seen the houses in session?

4. Suppose you desired to have a certain law passed, how would you go about it? Explain in full how such a measure would become a law after being introduced into one of the houses by some member. What is meant by the committee system?

5. What is meant by a political boss? What is meant by lobbying? Explain how the bosses and lobbyists hinder the work of the law-makers. How can the people of any community prevent this?

6. When does the next General Assembly meet? How long will it probably sit? Might it sit longer? Why is the length of the session of the General Assembly limited by the constitution?

CHAPTER XIII

THE EXECUTION OF THE LAWS

STATE AND LOCAL EXECUTIVE OFFICERS. After the laws have been passed by the legislature, it is necessary that there should be officers to see that these laws are carried out. The enforcement of both state and local laws is intrusted very largely to local officers chosen in the various communities of the state. For example, it is the General Assembly that makes the laws defining crimes and providing punishment for those who commit them; but it is the city police or the county sheriff and constables who arrest offenders who violate these laws. In the actual enforcement of the laws the individual in any community usually comes in contact with county and city officers rather than with state officers. In addition to these local officers, however, there are certain state officers whose duty it is to supervise and assist the local officers in the execution of some of the laws of the state and to execute directly certain laws which are not intrusted to local officers at all.

THE ELECTED STATE OFFICERS. At the head of the executive department of the state government stands the Governor. During the colonial period of our history the Governor of Virginia was appointed by the crown in England. After our independence he was for many years chosen by the General Assembly; but since 1851 he has been elected directly by the voters. The Governor is now elected in November of an odd-numbered year (1917, 1921, etc.). He enters upon the duties of his office on the first day of the following February, and remains in office for a period of four years. He must be a citizen of the United States, at least thirty years of age, and must have resided in Virginia for at least five years

preceding his election. At the time of the Governor's election there is also elected an officer known as the Lieutenant-Governor, who, in case the Governor dies or is unable to perform his duties, takes the place of the Governor. The Lieutenant-Governor presides over the Senate.

The people of the state also elect an Attorney General, a Secretary of the Commonwealth, a State Treasurer, a Superintendent of Public Instruction, and a Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration. These officers are chosen at the same time and for the same term as the Governor. In addition to these elected officers there are, as we shall see, a number of important state officers who are appointed either by the legislature or by the Governor with the consent of the Senate.

THE GOVERNOR. The powers and duties of the Governor are both numerous and important. *In the first place*, although he is the chief officer of the *executive* branch of the government, he nevertheless has a considerable share in the making of the laws. He is empowered, for instance, to send what is known as messages to the legislature, and in these messages he recommends that certain laws be passed. The General Assembly is not *compelled* to act upon the recommendations of the Governor, but the weight of his influence is large, and it is simply a fact that the legislature does usually give careful attention to his proposals. The Governor also usually advises with the members and the committees of the legislature in respect to important laws that are being drawn up. Before any bill that has passed both houses of the legislature can become a law, it must be signed by the Governor. If he does not approve the bill, he may refuse to sign it and return it to the legislature with a statement of his objections to the measure. This is called the Governor's veto. In case the Governor vetoes a bill, it cannot become a law unless it is again passed by both houses of the legislature by a majority vote of two-thirds. In addition to these powers, it

has already been mentioned that the Governor may at any time call an extra session of the General Assembly.

In the second place, as head of the executive department, the constitution requires that the Governor "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." To this end it is his duty to keep himself informed as to how the other officers of the state are performing their duties. He may require any information of them, or he may at any time inspect their books. When the General Assembly is not in session, he has the power to suspend any officer at the capital, except the Lieutenant-Governor, for misbehavior, or because he is not properly performing his duty. He is required to report the whole circumstances of such a suspension to the next General Assembly, which has power either to restore the officer or to remove him entirely. The Governor also has power to name certain of the important executive officers of the government who are not subject to election by the voters or to appointment by the General Assembly itself.

In the third place, the Governor is commander-in-chief of the state militia. As such, he has power to call out these forces when they are occasionally needed. As we have seen, the militia is used whenever the ordinary police officers or constables are unable to suppress a riot or other unusual disturbance in a community.

In the fourth place, the Governor has power to pardon persons who have been convicted of crimes. When once a case has been finally decided by the courts it is impossible for it to be taken up again by the courts. Occasionally, however, it happens that for one reason or another a person who has been convicted of crime ought not to be punished to the full extent of his sentence. The Governor has the power to release a prisoner from punishment or to shorten his sentence or to remit his fine. He does this, however, only in exceptional cases. He does not allow those who ought to be punished to play upon his sympathies.

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH. It is the duty of this officer to keep a daily record of the acts of the Governor and to perform services of a varied character in connection with the enforcement of the laws. He keeps the great seal of Virginia, and many important records are cared for in his office.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. It frequently happens that the officers who are required to execute the laws are not able to decide exactly what this or that provision of the law means. The Attorney General is the officer whose duty it is

CAPITOL SQUARE, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Showing the west entrance of the Capitol building, where the General Assembly sits and where most of the state executive offices are located. The Governor's mansion is seen dimly in the background

to give his opinion to the Governor and other officers at the seat of government on questions of law. In certain cases, moreover, when the state of Virginia brings suit against a person or is sued, the Attorney General is the officer who represents the government before the courts. Whenever a

person who has been convicted of crime appeals to the highest court of the state (the Supreme Court of Appeals), it is the duty of the Attorney General to prosecute the prisoner before this court. These are the principal duties of the Attorney General.

STATE FINANCIAL OFFICERS. The State Auditor, who is chosen by the General Assembly for a term of four years, is the officer who receives the money that is collected in the various communities of the state for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the state government. He deposits this money with the State Treasurer, who, as we have seen, is elected by the people. When any officer or person has a claim against the state, it is the Auditor who examines his claim and issues an order or warrant directing the Treasurer to pay the claim in question. There is also a Second Auditor, chosen by the General Assembly, who performs, with reference to certain special funds, duties similar to those of the Auditor.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. The chief executive officer of the public school system of Virginia is the Superintendent of Public Instruction. He exercises general supervision over the schools of the state and seeks in every way to encourage the improvement of schools and to awaken interest in public education. He uses his influence with the legislature to secure appropriations for the schools and to have wise laws enacted in the interest of the public school system.

The Superintendent is assisted and controlled by the State Board of Education. This board consists of the Superintendent himself, who is its president, the Governor, the Attorney General, three members who are chosen from the faculties of the state institutions of higher learning, and one county and one city superintendent of schools. The board has very large powers over the educational system of the state. It makes many rules and regulations for the management of the schools in addition to the laws that are enacted by

the legislature. One of its most important functions is to select the text-books that may be used in the public schools throughout the state.

The Superintendent of Public Instruction is also assisted in many ways by the State Board of Examiners. This board consists of five members appointed by the State Board of Education. For the work of this board the entire state is divided into five circuits, one of which is assigned to each examiner. It is the duty of the members of this board to examine and issue licenses to those who desire to teach in the public schools. They also travel about in their circuits holding teachers' institutes and forming citizens' leagues for the purpose of arousing interest in, and advancing the cause of, public education.

In every community of the state there is a local school officer called the division superintendent of schools. Although these division superintendents exercise their powers only in their respective localities, they are nevertheless appointed by the State Board of Education, their appointments being subject to the approval of a vote of the Senate. In a sense, therefore, they represent the *state* government rather than the local government of their respective communities.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION. It is the duty of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration to collect information in regard to the climate, soil, crops, and minerals of the state and to furnish this information to farmers and others who desire it. He has charge of the inspection of fertilizers and of seeds, of the farmers' institutes, and of certain experiment stations. In many ways he encourages and assists the farmer and the cattle raiser. He endeavors also to show to people who are looking for a place of settlement the natural advantages that are to be found in the state of Virginia. The Commissioner is assisted and directed by the Board of Agriculture and Im-

migration, which consists of the President of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and of one member from each of the ten congressional districts into which the state is divided. Every member must be a practical farmer and is appointed by the Governor for a term of four years, subject to the approval of the Senate.

In connection with the Department of Agriculture and Immigration there is a Division of Dairy and Pure Food Inspection. This division is in charge of the Dairy and Food Commissioner, an officer who is appointed by the Governor and the Senate. The duties of the division are perhaps sufficiently indicated by its name.

THE STATE CORPORATION COMMISSION. The members of this commission are appointed by the Governor, subject to the approval of the entire General Assembly. They hold office for terms of six years. This commission is one of the most important branches of the state executive organization. It has the power to issue what are known as charters of incorporation. Whenever a number of persons wish to join themselves together for the purpose of conducting a business, or a charitable, social, or other organization, they can apply to the Corporation Commission for a charter. Having received such a charter, they can act just as if they were a single person instead of a group of persons. The laws regulate the conditions under which charters of this kind may be issued.

The Corporation Commission also has many important duties to perform in connection with the supervision of persons and corporations engaged in the insurance business and the banking business. The government places such business as this under special regulations in order to protect the people from mismanagement and frauds.

We have already noted that the government regulates the rates and the service of railway, telegraph, and telephone

companies. This is the most important power that is conferred upon the Corporation Commission.

THE BUREAU OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS. This bureau is in charge of a Commissioner of Labor and Industrial Statistics appointed by the Governor and Senate. It is the duty of the bureau to gather information and make investigations concerning the working and living conditions of laborers in the state. It is also charged with the enforcement of those laws which are enacted for the benefit of persons employed in labor.

STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER. This officer is appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the Senate, and has charge of the appropriations which the state government makes for the construction and maintenance of roads. He also gives information and assistance to those who are interested in the subject of road-building, and otherwise enforces the laws of the state dealing with this matter. He sends forces of convicts to various parts of the state where they are needed for the construction of roads; but when convicts are employed in this work they remain under the care and management of the superintendent of the penitentiary.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH. This department is controlled by the State Board of Health, consisting of twelve members appointed by the Governor. Under the general direction of this board, the Commissioner of Health, who is also appointed by the Governor, is in active charge of the execution of many of the health laws of the state. The department maintains laboratories in Richmond for the study of the methods of preventing and curing dangerous diseases, and for the free examination of specimens which are sent to the department by physicians throughout the state. By means of lectures, publications, and through the daily press, the department distributes a great deal of information on the subject of diseases and the methods of preventing them. It also supplies, at the smallest possible cost, antitoxin for the cure of

diphtheria, the virus that is used for vaccination, and disinfectants that are used for fumigating. This is done not only to lessen the cost of these things to the people but also to insure their quality. Every physician in the state is required to report to some local officer all cases of dangerous diseases that come to his attention, and these local officers in turn furnish this information to the state department. The department also is required to inspect every hospital in the state at least once a year. The State Board of Health has very large power to make regulations of various kinds to prevent those things that are dangerous to the public health. These regulations have the same force as laws enacted by the General Assembly.

STATE INSTITUTIONS AND PRISONS. The government maintains at Richmond a penitentiary in which are confined all those persons who have committed grave offences against the laws of the state. This prison is in charge of five directors who are appointed by the Governor and the Senate. This board appoints the superintendent of the penitentiary, and the surgeons and other officers that are necessary for the management of the prison. Some of the prisoners who are sent to the penitentiary are taken care of on what is known as the state farm, which is in charge of a superintendent appointed by the penitentiary board.

The state government maintains hospitals for the insane at Williamsburg, Staunton, Marion, and Petersburg. Each of these hospitals is in charge of a board of directors appointed by the Governor and the Senate, while a general board, consisting of all of the members of these special boards, has general supervision over all these hospitals. There is also a Commissioner of the State Hospitals for the Insane, who is appointed by the Governor, and who has general direction of the expenditure of moneys for the hospitals and the keeping of their records.

THE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS. This board consists of five members appointed by the Governor. It is the duty of the board, or of the secretary whom they employ, to visit at least once a year every state, county, city, or private institution which carries on any charitable work or in which prisoners are confined. This board has very little power over these institutions, but it examines into their condition, gives advice as to matters that need correction, and prevents many objectionable things that might go on in these institutions without being known to the public.

OTHER STATE OFFICERS. There are a few other officers of the state government whose duties it seems unnecessary to describe in detail. Among these may be mentioned the Register of the Land Office, and the Superintendent of Printing, who are chosen by the General Assembly, and the Adjutant General, the Secretary of Virginia Military Records, the Governor's Military Staff, the Boards of Visitors of various state institutions of higher learning, the Board of Fisheries, and the Boards of Examiners for pharmacists, dentists, graduate nurses, veterinarians, embalmers, and lawyers.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. If the General Assembly lays a tax upon certain property throughout the state, what officers in your community would collect this tax? If a man commits a crime in your community, is he arrested by a local or a state officer? Has he violated a local or a state law? Explain, then, how state laws are often executed by local officers.

2. Mention all the state officers who are elected by the people. Find out the names of as many of these officers as you can. Who is the present Governor of Virginia? How and when was he chosen? How much longer has he to serve? Do you know anything about his life? To what political party does he belong? How was he nominated by his party?

3. What is meant by the Governor's message? Why does the law require him to send a message? What is meant by his veto? How may it be overcome?

4. What control does the Governor have over the other executive officers? What is his position in the militia? What is meant by his pardoning power? If he should die in office, who would succeed him? What duty has the Lieutenant-Governor?

5. Mention all the important state officers who are appointed by the Governor. What officers are chosen by the General Assembly? Find out the names of as many of these officers as you can.

6. What are the duties of the Secretary of State? The Attorney General? The State Auditor? The State Treasurer? The Second Auditor?

7. Describe the organization and duties of the State Department of Education. Who is the present Superintendent of Public Instruction? Find out the names of the present members of the State Board of Education. Who is your division superintendent of schools? When and how was he appointed? How long has he to serve?

8. Describe the organization and duties of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration. The State Corporation Commission. The Bureau of Labor. The State Highway Department. The Department of Public Health.

9. How are state institutions and prisons managed? What is the Board of Charities and Corrections?

CHAPTER XIV

THE STATE COURTS

THE NECESSITY FOR COURTS. It is easy to understand how people will sometimes differ in opinion as to what the law really means, and how laws may sometimes conflict with one another. Moreover, it is often very difficult to find out the facts about a matter which the law attempts to regulate. For instance, a dispute may arise as to which of two parties owns a piece of property; each party may claim that he has the right to it under the law. Similar disputes might arise over a debt, or over an agreement or contract between two parties. These disputes may be very complicated, involving many points to be considered.

Suppose a man is accused of some offense against the criminal laws of the state, such, for instance, as robbery or murder. Whatever punishment is to be inflicted upon him will depend on two things. First, it will depend on the facts of the case, involving the question of whether he really committed the act, and if so, whether it was partially or wholly justifiable. Second, it will depend on what particular law will apply to the circumstances under which the crime was committed.

Now it must be very clear that every time an attempt is made to apply the law to a particular case, many questions will arise in regard to the facts of the case and the meaning of the law which is applied to these facts. There must, therefore, be a judicial department of the government, whose duty it is to explain the laws and apply them in particular instances. This part of the government's work is accomplished by the courts.

THE PROTECTION OF THE COURTS. It is the courts that constitute our strongest protection against injustice.

If any individual of the community feels that an injury has been done him by another member of the community contrary to the law, he applies to the courts to determine the matter. If he feels that the officers of the government are overstepping their authority and are trampling upon his rights and liberties, he goes to the courts with his grievance. If a bad member of the community commits a crime, it is the courts that examine into the facts and circumstances of the case and determine what his punishment shall be in accordance with the law. Few people pass through life without on some occasion finding it necessary to seek the assistance or the protection of the courts.

It is a fundamental principle of justice among the English-speaking people that there must be in every community at least one court for the settlement of perplexing questions of fact and law. In other words, every man must have the protection of the courts within his reach. The system of courts in Virginia by which this is accomplished is somewhat complicated. There are a number of different kinds of courts, each with certain limits to the powers that it may exercise. It is unnecessary to examine in detail the powers, or jurisdiction, as it is usually called, of these various courts. It will be sufficient for us to get a general idea of the system of courts in the state. There are in the main four classes of courts.

THE JUSTICES' COURTS AND POLICE COURTS. In every county in Virginia there are a number of justices of the peace whose duty it is to hold courts for the trial of petty offenses against the laws of the state and the county. In the cities, likewise, there is a similar court usually called the police court. These courts constitute the most numerous branch of courts in the state. It must be remembered, however, that they have authority to try only such petty offenses as are punishable by small fines or short terms of imprisonment in jail. They can also determine disputes in regard to property and debts where only small amounts are involved. In many in-

stances even after a case has been decided in these lowest courts of the state, the law provides that it may be carried to the next higher court, and there be reviewed.

THE CIRCUIT COURTS. Next above the justices' courts are the circuit courts. In all there are thirty-one such courts in Virginia. For this purpose the whole state is divided into thirty-one circuits. Each circuit consists of a number of counties or a county and a city. The court of any circuit is held, as the occasion may demand, in this or that county or city of the circuit; and from the fact that it moves from place to place, it takes its name, the "circuit" court. It is this court which has the authority to hear by far the larger number of cases that arise. In cases arising out of disputes over such things as property and debts, the law provides that they must involve a certain amount of money if they are to be brought before the circuit court. If a person is arrested for an offense against the law, he can be tried in the circuit court only when the offense is so serious that it may be punished by imprisonment in the state penitentiary. Thus small cases and trials for petty offenses are left to the justices' and police courts.

THE CITY OR CORPORATION COURTS. In addition to the circuit court, every city of ten thousand inhabitants may have an additional court known as a corporation court. Cities which have as many as thirty thousand inhabitants have a number of different courts, each with the power, or jurisdiction, to try cases of certain kinds prescribed by the law. It is natural that many more cases should arise in large cities than in farming communities. A special and more elaborate system of city courts is therefore provided.

THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS. At the top of the system of courts provided for Virginia stands the Supreme Court of Appeals. This court has the power to hear cases which may have been tried in the circuit courts and the various city courts, and which may be carried, in accordance with the law, to the highest court of the state for a last hearing. The

A COURT ROOM

The judge sits at the desk in the center. The jury occupy the chairs at the side of the judge's desk. Immediately in front of the judge's desk are chairs and tables for the opposing attorneys

Supreme Court holds sessions at different times of the year in Richmond, Staunton, and Wytheville.

THE JUDGES. The justices' courts are presided over by justices of the peace, elected by the people of the district in which they serve. All the other courts in the state, however, are presided over by judges. For each circuit court and for each city court one judge is chosen by the General Assembly for a term of eight years. The Supreme Court of Appeals consists of five judges chosen by the General Assembly for a term of twelve years each. It is provided that the judges in all of these courts shall be men trained in the law, either by having previously held a judicial position, or by having practised law for a period of at least five years. It is provided also that their salaries shall not be increased or diminished during their terms of office. This is in order to prevent the General Assembly from gaining any control over the honesty and impartiality of the judges of the state, by refusing to continue their salaries.

There is a very good reason why our judges are chosen for terms of eight and twelve years, instead of for a term of four years as in the case of the Governor. One of the principles that lie at the bottom of our judicial system is that every man, no matter how poor and obscure, shall be equal to any other man when he appears before the courts. If our judges were subjected to the control of political parties by reason of frequent elections, their decisions might sometimes be influenced by their desire for reappointment. The object, therefore, of choosing the judges for long terms is that they may be separated from any control of politics, and that they may feel free to interpret the law with absolute impartiality.

THE TRIAL OF CASES BEFORE THE COURTS. How does a person proceed when he feels that it is necessary for him to call on the courts for assistance in maintaining his rights against some other person? If he ascertains that the law is probably in favor of his claim, he usually places the

matter in the hands of a lawyer, who brings it before the proper court at the proper time, and in accordance with the regulations prescribed for such proceedings. The other party concerned generally employs a lawyer to represent him; and the matter is fought out between these lawyers in the presence of the court. The facts are all heard, the law is interpreted and applied, and a decision is rendered. Such a case as this is called a civil suit. In such a suit no *person* is on trial.

In case an individual is arrested and accused of some crime, he usually employs, or else the government provides for him, a lawyer to represent his cause before the court. Opposed to this lawyer is an officer known as the commonwealth's attorney, who is himself a lawyer representing the community. It is the duty of this officer to bring out before the court all the facts that will help to show the guilt of the prisoner. You see, therefore, that we again have two lawyers struggling with each other in the presence of the court on opposite sides of the question to be decided. Such a case as this, in which a *person* is being tried for a crime of which he is accused, is called a criminal case. In any criminal case the government itself, represented by the commonwealth's attorney, is one of the parties concerned. A man who has committed a crime has really committed an injury against the whole people of the community, and the government must punish him if his guilt can be proved.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Suppose a dispute arises between two persons over a debt, how is it usually settled? Suppose a man is arrested for stealing, who determines his punishment? Why are the courts necessary? How do they protect us from injustice?

2. Have you ever been in a court room? If so, describe it. Do you know the name of any justice of the peace in your neighborhood (or of a police justice)? Where is his court held? If a man is arrested for fighting in your community, before what court would he be taken?

3. If you live in a city, try to find out how many courts there are in your city and what they are called. If you live in a county, find out where the circuit court sits. Why is it called a circuit court?

4. Describe the system of courts in Virginia. Why are the judges appointed for long terms? Why may not the legislature increase or diminish their salaries?

5. What is the highest court in Virginia? How many judges sit in it? How are they appointed and for what term?

6. Explain how in every case, whether civil or criminal, there are lawyers on each side of the question. What is the duty of the commonwealth's attorney? Find out, if you can, who is the commonwealth's attorney in your community.

CHAPTER XV

THE GOVERNMENT OF COUNTIES

WHY COUNTY GOVERNMENT WAS ESTABLISHED IN VIRGINIA. The entire state of Virginia is divided into one hundred districts known as counties. In each of these counties a local government is established. It is the duty of the county government to attend to certain matters that are of interest primarily to the locality. Its officers also enforce many of the laws that are enacted by the state legislature in Richmond.

County government dates back to a very early period in the history of England. When the settlers came over to America and established the colony of Virginia, they simply transplanted to Virginia the county form of government to which they had been accustomed in England. As we have already had occasion to note the people of Virginia, as in the rest of the South, settled upon large farms or plantations. They thus lived considerable distances from one another. Now this fact had an important influence upon the kind of government that developed in Virginia. It would have been impossible, for example, for the people of Virginia to establish the kind of local government that developed in New England. The people who settled in New England came over to this country largely that they might enjoy religious freedom. They came, therefore, in congregations or groups. They did not separate and settle on large estates. They built their homes close around the church and the schoolhouse. Living as they did quite close together, it was natural for them to adopt a direct, or, as we say, popular or democratic form of government. All the inhabitants of each community met together and decided what their local laws should be and who should be their

officers. This form of local government still prevails in New England and in a somewhat different form it has been adopted in other parts of the United States. It is known as township government and the assembly of the voters is called the town meeting.

Instead of township government the people of Virginia adopted the county form of government. All the people of a county do not come together for the purpose of making laws and choosing officers. They merely go to the several polls and elect representatives to make the county laws for them and in the same way they choose the officers who are to enforce these laws.

THE POWERS OF THE COUNTY GOVERNMENT. The county, which is only a subordinate district of the state, is permitted to exercise only those powers that are granted by the state constitution and the state legislature. The county does not, in fact, enact many local laws. For the most part its officers are engaged simply in enforcing the laws passed by the state legislature. For example, it is the officers of the county who preserve the peace by arresting those who violate the laws of the state. The county also provides the courthouse in which such persons are tried and the jail in which they are imprisoned. In this courthouse, too, are heard those controversies which arise between individuals in the county. The state laws require also that the county shall make provision for the care of the poor. It is the county, moreover, which, under the laws of the state, makes provision for the building and maintenance of schoolhouses and for the construction of roads and bridges.

THE COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS. Every county is divided into three or more districts that are known as magisterial districts. Once in every four years, in November, the voters of each district elect a supervisor of the district; and the supervisors of the several districts form what is known as the county board of supervisors. The law confers upon this

board the power to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the government of the county. It is this board also which decides upon the building and repairing of roads and bridges and which provides for the erection of schoolhouses, the courthouse, the jail, and the poorhouse. It is this board which levies the taxes that are necessary for these various purposes and which borrows money in the name of

THE COURTHOUSE OF CHARLOTTE COUNTY, VIRGINIA
This is one of our oldest courthouses. Both Patrick Henry and John Randolph have been heard within its walls

the county when that is necessary. Indeed the board of supervisors has general control and direction of the affairs of the county. The law requires that it must meet at least twice in every year and the board may come together oftener if need be.

THE OTHER COUNTY OFFICERS. In addition to the board of supervisors there are a number of other county officers

who are elected by the voters for a term of four years and one, the county clerk, who is elected for an eight-year term.

The sheriff is the officer who has charge of the county jail and whose duty it is to assist in preserving the peace by arresting persons suspected of violating the laws. He attends the circuit court when it meets in his county, and he carries out the orders of the court. The sheriff is the most important executive officer of the county, for many other duties in addition to those mentioned here are laid upon him by law.

The commonwealth's attorney is the law officer of the county. It is his duty to prosecute criminals who are tried before the circuit court. He also assists the board of supervisors and the other county officers in the performance of their duties by giving them his opinion on questions of law.

The county clerk is the officer whose duty it is to keep the records of the county. It is by means of these records that the owners of land in the county are assisted in establishing their claims to their property. Whenever land is transferred from one person to another a record of this transfer must be made in the county clerk's office. It is the county clerk also who issues marriage licenses and who keeps a record of marriages, births, and deaths in the county.

The justices of the peace are the officers who hold the lowest courts in the state. Before these officers all petty offences and disputes are tried. It is their duty also to assist in the preservation of the peace. Three justices are elected in each magisterial district. There is also elected in each district at least one constable whose duty it is to arrest persons accused of violating the laws and otherwise to assist in preserving order within the community.

The superintendent of the poor is the officer who has charge of the poorhouse or poor farm that is maintained in every county.

The principal financial officers of the county are the land assessors, the commissioners of revenue, and the county treas-

urer. For each magisterial district one land assessor is appointed by the circuit judge. It is the duty of the land assessor to make lists of all the land and buildings in his district and to determine the value at which such property shall be held for taxation. The people of each district also elect a commissioner of revenue, whose duty it is to list and value *new* buildings and all other kinds of property that are owned

PEELING WILLOWS TO MAKE BASKETS
These willows are grown at Arlington Farm, Virginia

by the people of the district. The taxes that are levied are collected and cared for by the county treasurer. He pays out such sums as he may be authorized to pay; and he forwards to the State Auditor at Richmond such part of the taxes as belongs to the state government.

There are also in every county a surveyor, one or more coroners, and certain minor officers whose duties are prescribed

by law. These assist in various ways in carrying out the scheme of county government.

THE COUNTY SCHOOL OFFICERS. It has already been mentioned that in every community there is a local officer called the division superintendent of schools, this officer being appointed by the State Board of Education, with the approval of the Senate. The division superintendent usually has charge of a single county or city, but in a few instances two counties or a county and a city are placed under one superintendent. The division superintendent has general power to supervise and regulate the schools in his division in accordance with the laws of the state and the rules laid down by the State Board of Education.

Every county is divided into a number of school districts. The division superintendent, the commonwealth's attorney, and one resident of the county (who is appointed for this purpose by the judge of the circuit court) choose for each school district a number of persons who are known as school trustees. This district board of trustees has the power to appoint teachers for the schools within the district. In other ways also these trustees look after the interests of the schools. The entire number of district trustees in any one county form the county school board, whose duty it is to assist and direct the division superintendent.

THE IMPORTANCE OF COUNTY HISTORY. There is scarcely a county in Virginia that has not produced its great men. Some of these men are only of local reputation; but in many cases they have played important roles in the history of Virginia and the nation. Moreover, many counties have been the scenes of famous battles and other important incidents of our history. It ought to be our pride to know of these things. We should be eager to learn something of the history of our county and the share it has had in the history of the state. We should cherish the names of our great men and perpetuate their memory. Might it not be a good

idea to name the public schools in every community after the great men of the locality?

CLASS EXERCISES

1. In what county do you live? Describe its situation in the state. Try to find out something about its history; when was it settled, when did it become a county, how did it receive its name?

2. Explain how geographical conditions in Virginia gave rise to the county form of local government. What is meant by township government? Where did it flourish, and why? Why did it not develop in Virginia?

3. What are some of the powers which your county government exercises? How is the county board of supervisors formed? What are its powers? What magisterial district do you live in? Find out who your district supervisor is. When was he elected? How long has he yet to serve? How often must the board of supervisors meet?

4. Find out, if you can, who is the present treasurer of your county. The sheriff. The commonwealth's attorney. The county clerk. How many justices of the peace are there in your district? Constables? Commissioners of revenue? Land assessors? How are these various officers chosen? What is their term of office? Which one serves for eight years?

5. Who is your superintendent of schools? Who appointed him? Who are your school trustees? How were they chosen? How many members are there of your county school board? Mention the names of some of them.

6. What great men has your community produced? Which of them were of local, which of state, which of national reputation? What do you know of their lives? Are their names commemorated in any way in your community? Can you think of some simple ways by which they might be commemorated?

7. What important incidents of history have taken place in your community? Are these incidents commemorated? How?

CHAPTER XVI

THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES

THE GROWTH OF CITIES IN VIRGINIA. Although the cities of Richmond, Norfolk, and Williamsburg were established as far back as the colonial period of our history, the growth of cities in Virginia both in number and population has been rapid only since the War Between the States. This delay in the development of cities in Virginia, as in the rest of the South, was due to the fact that the people lived on large plantations, as well as to the fact that there was a large slave population. The slaves made excellent farm laborers; but they were not trained for labor of a higher character, such as is required in operating the complicated machinery that is used in manufacturing. Now, as everyone knows, the people of cities support themselves by manufacturing and trading. It was quite impossible for large cities to develop in Virginia so long as there were slaves among us; for these could not be profitably employed in manufacturing industries.

Since the emancipation of the slaves cities have developed far more rapidly in Virginia than formerly. During the ten years from 1900 to 1910 the population of Richmond (127,628) increased fifty per cent; that of Norfolk (67,452) increased forty-four per cent; and that of Roanoke (34,874) sixty-two per cent. In 1890 Newport News had a population of only 4,449; in 1910 it had 20,205 inhabitants. In 1890 Roanoke had a population of 16,159 inhabitants; in 1910 there were 34,874 persons in this city. In spite of this increase in the population of the cities in Virginia, it is important to bear in mind, as has already been noted, that the vast majority of the people in the state still live on farms.

THE PROBLEMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT. We have already had occasion to note that the government undertakes many things for the people of city communities that are unnecessary in farming communities. It is scarcely needful to explain why this should be the case. Where so many people live close to one another, they are compelled to use the same

CONGESTED TRAFFIC IN A CITY STREET

streets, the same facilities for lighting their houses and getting water, as well as many other things in common. There are also many dangers from which they must be protected. It is the government which must attend to these matters for the common welfare of all. Streets must be laid out, lighted,

paved, and kept clean. Parks must be provided. A police force must be maintained for the protection of life and property and for the enforcement of the laws. Water must be furnished to the inhabitants; fire departments maintained; a sewer system installed; and schoolhouses, city halls, courthouses, jails, and poorhouses must be erected. These and many other things the city must undertake. Now all these undertakings call for a more or less elaborate government—a government that differs in many respects from that which is provided for counties.

THE MEANING OF A CITY CHARTER. The government of every city in Virginia is provided for by what is known as the charter of the city. This charter is simply a law enacted by the state legislature. It provides in detail how the city government shall be organized, how the city laws shall be made, what city officers there shall be, and what powers the city may exercise. Under these charters the form of government in one city is in many respects quite different from that of another city. It is, therefore, somewhat difficult to describe briefly the government of the cities of the state.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES UNDER OLD SPECIAL CHARTERS. Nearly all the cities of Virginia are operating under special charters which were enacted many years ago, and which have from time to time been amended by the legislature. These charters provide for a law-making body, which is known as the city council; and, like the state legislature, this council is divided into two houses, or chambers. One of these chambers is called the common council, and the other the board of aldermen. For the purpose of electing councilmen and aldermen, the city is divided into wards. The voters of each ward elect a number of councilmen and a smaller number of aldermen. In one or two of the smaller cities of the state the city council consists of a single body.

The laws which the city council is empowered to make are known as ordinances. These ordinances, of course, relate

only to the local affairs of the city. For the purpose of enacting ordinances city councils are organized much as is the state legislature. Proposals are referred to committees and must be passed by both chambers of the council. They are then sent to the mayor for his signature, and if vetoed by the mayor, they can be passed only by a majority vote of two-thirds of the members of both chambers. It is the city council which determines what local taxes are to be raised for carrying

A BEAUTIFULLY PARKED CITY STREET

on the work of the city government, and which, when the taxes have been collected, appropriates money for the various activities of the government.

In every city there is a mayor who occupies in the city government a position somewhat like that of the governor in the state government. The mayor is the chief executive officer of the city. It is his duty to see that the other officers attend

properly to the duties laid upon them. He often has the power to suspend any officer who neglects his duty. The mayor, however, has larger powers in some cities than he has in others, so that it is difficult to describe his office exactly. The mayor is elected by the voters, usually for a term of four years. In most cities, also, the people elect at the same time and for the same term a city treasurer, a commonwealth's attorney, a tax collector, and a city sergeant. In addition to these elected officers there are in every city a number of appointed officers in charge of the various departments of the government, such as the police, fire, and health departments. These officers are usually appointed by the city council, which also chooses the members of certain important boards and commissions that direct the work of various branches of the city government.

In a very general way this is the type of government that is found in most of the cities of Virginia. At the same time it is important to remember that there are many variations from this type. For example, in Norfolk there is an elected board of control, and in Richmond an elected administrative board. These boards, whose duties need not be described in detail, are perhaps the most important features of the government of these two cities. The fact is that in order to understand the government of any particular city, it is necessary to study the special charter of that city.

THE NEW FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT. In 1912 a constitutional amendment was adopted, and in 1914 a law was passed by the legislature which confers upon the cities of Virginia the power to adopt forms of government wholly different from that under which most of the cities of the state are now operating. This law permits any city with a population of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants (Richmond is the only such city at present) to adopt its own charter. This charter must be submitted to the voters of the city, and if a majority of them approve it, the legislature may then enact

it into law. For the other cities of the state the legislature has provided a choice of three different kinds of government. Upon a vote of the majority of the people of any city, they may elect to be governed under any one of these three forms.

The first of these types of government is known as the

THE CITY HALL, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

"general councilmanic plan." It differs from the government provided by most of the old special charters in that the law-making body of the city consists of only one house, which may contain from three to eleven members, according to the

size of the city. In the smaller cities these members are chosen by the voters of the entire city, instead of by wards, and even the larger cities may elect their councilmen in this way if they desire to do so. Under this type of government the mayor occupies a position very similar to that which has been described above.

The second type of government which any city may elect is called the "modified commission plan." Under this charter the people elect either three or five commissioners, according to the size of the city. The government of the city is placed entirely in the hands of this small group of commissioners. Sitting as a body they pass the ordinances of the city. The various activities of the city are divided into as many departments as there are commissioners, and each commissioner acts as the head of one of these departments, being especially responsible for its management. Of course these commissioners employ subordinate officers to help carry on the work of the city government, these officers being responsible either to the commission as a whole or to the individual commissioners. The commissioners choose one of their number to be the mayor of the city; but under this form of government the mayor has very little more power than any other commissioner. He cannot veto ordinances, and he is no more responsible than any other commissioner for the conduct of the government. This commission form of government for cities has in recent years become very popular throughout the United States. Hundreds of cities have abandoned their old forms of government in favor of government by a small commission.

The third kind of government which any city may adopt is known as the "city manager plan." The law-making body under this plan is about the same as under the "general councilmanic plan." The council enacts the ordinances of the city; but they hire a city manager, and he is vested with complete control over the various activities and services of the

city government. He is appointed for no definite term but holds his office as long as the council is satisfied with his work. He appoints and removes the officers and employes who serve under him. Under this form of government the manager is almost wholly responsible for the character of the government. This city manager plan is another type of government which in recent years has been adopted by a number of cities in various parts of the United States. It is interesting to note that the idea of such a plan of government originated in the city of Staunton, Virginia.

CITY SCHOOL OFFICERS. For the management of public schools a few of the small cities of the state are joined to the counties in which they are located. In most cities, however, there is a city (division) superintendent appointed by the State Board of Education. This superintendent has general charge of the schools of the city. He is subject to the control, however, of the city school board, the members of which are usually appointed by the city council.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TOWNS. Towns are those communities in Virginia which have less than five thousand inhabitants, although there are a few communities known as cities which also have a population of less than five thousand. Town governments are somewhat simple in form. There is a town council, a town mayor, and a few other executive officers. The most important distinction between a town and a small city is that a town is subjected to some control by the government of the county in which it is located. Although every city of Virginia is situated in a county, the officers of the county do not exercise any power whatever over the people of the city.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Try to find out the population of your city, or of the nearest city to you. Is its population said to be increasing? Can you see any evidences of the increase, such as the building of new residences or business houses? What natural advantages has your city? What attracts people to it?

2. Mention some of the things that city governments provide that are not undertaken by county governments. Why does this difference exist? Explain, then, why the city government differs in form from that of the county.

3. Explain what is meant by a city charter. Find out whether the government of your city (or the nearest city to you) is established by an old special charter. Find out how the city council is organized. Are there one or two bodies? What are they called?

4. How many wards are there in your city (or the nearest city to you)? How many councilmen are elected in each ward? How many aldermen? When are they next elected? How long do they serve? What is a city ordinance?

5. Who is the mayor of your city? When was he elected? How long does he serve? What are his duties?

6. Who appoints in your city firemen, policemen, street cleaners, health officers, officers who lay out and pave the streets?

7. Does your city own the waterworks? The gas plant? The electric plant? If so, who appoints the officers who manage these enterprises?

8. Describe the "modified commission form" of city government. The "city manager form." The "general councilmanic plan."

9. Explain how any city (except Richmond) may adopt any one of these three forms of government. Has your city (or the nearest city to you) adopted or attempted to adopt any one of them?

10. How may Richmond change its form of government?

11. Tell what officers control the schools in your city.

12. If you live in a town, tell some of the things that your town government undertakes. What officers does it have? How many members are there in the town council? What is the chief difference between towns and small cities?

13. Mention the names of all the important officers of your city or town.

CHAPTER XVII

STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION

THE MEANING OF TAXATION. We have seen that the government undertakes to perform many services in the interest of the people—services which contribute very greatly to our individual happiness and prosperity. Naturally it requires a great deal of money to support these services which the government undertakes. Salaries must be paid to officers, many buildings must be erected and maintained, roads and streets must be improved. The money for these and for many other services which the government performs must be secured from the people of the community. The government secures this money by a system which we call taxation.

A tax is a sum of money taken from the individual to be used by the government for the interest of the whole community. Or, as it is sometimes briefly put, "a tax is private property taken for a public purpose"—this property being almost invariably in the form of money.

Many people feel that it is a great hardship to pay taxes to the government; they look upon this almost as oppression. Some of them do not think that they are doing anything wrong if they avoid paying their taxes whenever that is possible. They do not seem to realize that the government gives them something in return for the money that they pay in taxes. It gives them, as we have seen, innumerable protections for their life, their liberty, their health, their property; and innumerable community benefits, such as good roads and streets and schoolhouses for the education of their children. People ought to be just as willing to pay for these things as they are ready to pay for things which they buy in the shops. Most of us get far more from the government in the way of pro-

tection and benefits than we ever actually pay for in taxes. The fact is that we cannot do without the services which the government supplies, and the government is absolutely dependent on taxes for its support.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION. We have seen that the government sometimes takes an individual's property under the power of eminent domain, when such property is needed for opening a street or road or for any other public purpose. Property taken in this manner is not regarded as a tax, because the individual is paid directly in money for the property that is taken. When the government takes the individual's property in the form of taxes the individual is of course not paid anything directly. He gets his compensation only indirectly in the form of services which the government provides.

Ever since the Revolutionary War it has been settled in the United States that the people alone shall have power to tax themselves. This does not mean that each person may say how much he will or will not contribute to the support of the government. It simply means that taxes can be levied upon us only by those whom we ourselves elect to represent us for this purpose—by the General Assembly of the state, or the board of supervisors of the county, or the council of a city. This is the first important principle of taxation.

The second principle of taxation is that as nearly as possible people shall pay taxes according to what they can afford to pay. If we look at the benefits which each of us gets from the government this principle may not seem wholly fair. The rich man, who pays large taxes, receives no more benefit from the roads and streets and schools than does the poor man who pays little or no taxes. On the other hand, it would be absurd for the government to tax everybody the same amount, without any regard to differences of wealth and income among the people. This would simply mean that many persons would be unable to pay the taxes imposed upon them. It is manifest

that the government can get money for its support only from people who have money. We have, therefore, hit upon the general principle that people must contribute to the support of the government in proportion to their ability to do so. The poll tax of a dollar and a half a year, which is assessed upon all men over twenty-one years of age, is an exception to this general principle. So also are those special assessments which the government levies (when, for example, a road or street is improved) in proportion to the amount which the adjoining property is increased in value by these improvements.

The third principle in our system of taxation is that taxes must be equally and impartially laid. All the people of a certain class and all the property of a certain class must be taxed alike. The government cannot, for example, levy a tax of a certain amount on one man's farm or income and refuse to place the same tax upon another farm or another income of equal value. While this principle is clearly just and reasonable, it should be noted that it is not always easy to apply. As we have seen, property is assessed for taxation by many different officers throughout the state; and it often happens that property in one community is assessed more nearly at its true value than property in some other community. This is sometimes true even with reference to different pieces of property in the same county. The government should, and probably will, make every effort to overcome these inequalities.

TAXES ON REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY. Property in lands and buildings is known as real property. It is this variety of property that bears the heaviest burden of taxation, this being due in part to the fact that it is impossible for the owners of such property to hide it. Property in the form of farming implements, cattle, furniture, jewelry, books, and such things, as well as property in the form of money, is known as personal property. The government also endeavors to collect taxes on this kind of property. The fact is, however, that taxes on personal property have everywhere proved

to be very largely a failure. This is partly due to the fact that the owners of such property may deceive the officers of the government by refusing to acknowledge all that they possess. It would seem, however, that the officers of the government very seldom make an honest effort to secure all the information possible about the personal property of the people.

In every community in Virginia some property is free from taxation. It would be absurd, for example, for the government to tax public buildings, roads, and streets. This would simply mean that the government was paying taxes to itself. Certain other classes of property, such as public libraries, colleges and other educational institutions, churches and ministers' residences, Young Men's Christian Association buildings, and charitable institutions are also free from taxation. Such property as this is not taxed because, although it is owned by private persons or associations, it is nevertheless regarded as being used for the general benefit of the whole community.

INCOME TAXES. Many persons receive large salaries and have other sources from which they get incomes, although they do not possess any real property, and little, if any, personal property on which the government actually collects taxes. It is not just that such persons should be entirely free from taxation. The government, therefore, places a tax on all incomes over and above a thousand dollars a year. As in the case of personal property, these taxes are very difficult to collect. The officers of the government have to rely almost wholly upon the individual's willingness to declare exactly what his income is. That this form of taxation has not been a great success is clearly shown by the fact that in twenty-five or thirty counties of the state no income taxes are paid at all.

FRANCHISE TAXES. Certain persons and corporations are taxed for special privileges which the government has

granted to them. These taxes are known generally as franchise taxes. Railroad, telegraph, and telephone companies, for example, are compelled to pay such taxes in return for the special powers which the government gives them. So also street railway, gas, and electric light companies are required to pay franchise taxes for the peculiar use which they make of the public streets.

POLL TAXES. As we have seen, every male resident of Virginia who is over twenty-one years of age is required to pay a tax of $1.50 a year. This is called a poll, or capitation, tax.

STATE AND LOCAL TAXES. We have seen that there is in Virginia not only a state government, which exercises powers in all parts of the state, but also a local government established over every county, city, and town. Both the state and these local governments have to have means of support. A part of the money that is collected in taxes goes to the support of the state government and a part of it is used for the support of the local governments. The state government in turn distributes to the various communities of the state money for various purposes, such as the maintenance of schools and the building of roads. Under this system it is a fact that about thirty-five of the one hundred counties in the state receive more money from the state treasury than they actually collect in the form of taxes. In effect, therefore, the people in some of the counties and cities are taxed to assist in supplying services to the people in certain other counties.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Has any public building been erected in your community recently? Try to find out how much it cost. Did the county, city, or state pay for the building? Why? Try to find out how the money was raised. Explain how this building is used for the benefit of the people of your community.

2. How is money raised for the improvement of roads in your county? Try to find out what the tax assessment for roads is. Who determines this assessment?

3. How are the schools supported in your county? Try to find out what the school assessment is. Have any new schoolhouses been built recently? How much did they cost? Try to find out what part of the school expenses are paid by your county authorities and what part by the state.

4. In what ways that you can think of do the people of your community receive benefits from the taxes they pay? Explain why it is dishonest to avoid paying taxes. Explain why it is wrong to look upon taxes as oppression.

5. What part did the question of taxation play in the causes of our Revolutionary War? What principle of taxation was in consequence established in America?

6. In what ways that you can think of does the owner of property get special benefits by paying the large taxes that are assessed upon him?

7. What is the difference between real estate and personal property? Do you own any real estate? Any personal property? Explain why it is easier to collect taxes on the one than it is on the other.

8. What is meant by assessing property for taxation? Try to find out whether property in your community is said to be assessed high or low. What does this mean?

9. What property that you can think of in your community is free from taxation? Why is it not taxed? Is your school building taxed? Why?

10. Mention all the kinds of taxation that we have in Virginia, and explain what is meant by each.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN THE NATION

THE CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THIRD PART

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XVIII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

THE PURPOSE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. In spite of all the many things that are undertaken by our state and our local governments in Virginia, as in other states of the Union, there are certain very important powers that are exercised and services that are rendered by the government of the nation, which has its seat in Washington. After our independence was won, there were many reasons which prompted the people of the new states to unite and establish a national government. The people of the several states had numerous interests in common. It was manifest, therefore, that many of their affairs could best be managed by a government that represented the people of all the states.

In a later chapter we shall see how the Union of the states came to be established, and how our national constitution was framed and adopted. This constitution determines what powers the national government shall exercise and in what ways it shall provide for the protection and welfare of the people of the entire nation. The government that is provided for in the national constitution undertakes many things that are of interest to the people throughout the whole United States—things which cannot be satisfactorily attended to by the separate states.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The United States is today one of the leading powers of the world. American citizens are constantly travelling in foreign countries and carrying on enormous commerce with the citizens of other nations. Just as the interests of different people in a single community are likely to conflict with one another, so the interests of the citizens of different nations are apt to give rise to disputes and disagreements. If some means were not provided for the peaceful regulation of affairs between nations, the people of one coun-

(Copyright, Underwood & Underwood)

IMMIGRANTS FROM ARMENIA
On board a vessel landing at New York

try would be continually getting into serious difficulties with the people of some other country. It would be absurd, of course, to allow each of the states of the American Union to regulate its own affairs with foreign governments. This is a duty, therefore, that belongs exclusively to the national government. In a number of different ways the United States government seeks to preserve friendly relations with

the other nations of the world and at the same time protect the interests of its own citizens.

AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS. It has long been the custom of every civilized nation to keep at the capital of every other nation a permanent representative known as an ambassador or minister. The United States sends ambassadors to thirteen of the more important nations of the world, and to nearly all of the other countries it sends ministers. At Washington there are ambassadors and ministers who are sent from these countries to the United States. Through these representatives nations communicate with one another. Ambassadors and ministers help to keep the relations between nations peaceful, for they are always at hand to assist in the speedy and friendly settlement of any dispute that arises. They also keep their respective nations informed as to what is going on in the countries to which they are sent.

THE MAKING OF TREATIES. The United States makes agreements on a great variety of subjects with the governments of other nations. These agreements are known as treaties. In many ways these treaties regulate the conduct of nations toward each other and determine the rights of their citizens. Were it not for treaties, disagreements between nations over the rights of their respective citizens would be much more frequent than they are. The United States has more than three hundred such treaties in force today. Sometimes, also, the nations of the world enter into uniform agreements on certain important matters which ought to be the subject of general regulation. These larger agreements are commonly known as conventions.

FOREIGN COMMERCE. No state has any power to regulate what goods shall be brought into the state from foreign countries, or what goods shall be carried out of the state. The control over foreign commerce is placed entirely in the hands of the national government. The United States government has entered into many treaties with foreign

governments for the regulation of matters pertaining to commerce. By law also duties have been imposed on many articles that are brought into this country from abroad. We shall see in a later connection that certain restrictions are placed on the power of the national government to levy duties on imports; and we shall also see how the government undertakes in many ways to promote the trade of American citizens with the citizens of foreign countries.

THE AMERICAN FLEET
Leaving Hampton Roads, Virginia, in the autumn of 1907 on a famous cruise around the world

IMMIGRATION. For many years the United States has attracted large numbers of foreigners from the various nations of Europe and Asia. These people, coming in many cases from lands of oppression and poverty, have looked upon the United States as a land of opportunity and promise. They swarm over the seas by thousands every year. Indeed, more than a million of them have sometimes come to us in a single year.

The United States has the power, of course, to impose whatever conditions it chooses upon the entrance of these foreigners into our country. Indeed, the government may prohibit them from landing at all. For the most part, however, it has been the policy of the government to extend its arms generously to those who have sought refuge among us. The government imposes certain minor restrictions on every foreigner who seeks entrance to this country; but these restrictions are intended merely to prevent criminals, paupers, diseased, and insane persons from coming in. The government also imposes a tax of a few dollars on every foreigner who enters. The only people who are now absolutely denied permission to enter the country are certain classes of the Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatic peoples. This exclusion of Orientals has been made at the demand of the people who reside on the Pacific coast, where large numbers of these people have settled.

Foreigners of the same nation frequently settle together in some part of the country or in some section of one of our large cities. There they retain their foreign language and customs. They thus become a danger to our country, for they do not understand our life and government. On the other hand, many foreigners soon lose their foreign characteristics and adopt our language and our customs. In other words, they become truly Americanized. The school is perhaps the most important means by which the children of these foreigners are taught to understand our ways of living and thinking.

NATURALIZATION. The national government provides that in due course of time these foreigners may become American citizens by a process called naturalization. Before a foreigner can become a naturalized citizen of the United States, he must have resided in this country at least five years, and he must have declared his intention to become a citizen at least two years before he is admitted to citizenship. He must solemnly swear that he no longer owes allegiance to

any foreign government, and that he recognizes *only* his duty and his obligation toward the government of the United States. After a foreigner has been granted his naturalization papers by the government, he enjoys the same privileges that belong to a natural born citizen of the United States.

THE MAKING OF WAR. In spite of all the means that are provided for keeping peace between nations, disagreements sometimes arise which cannot be settled peacefully. Appeal must then be made to arms. In the United States, Congress alone has the power to declare war against a foreign nation. It would naturally be absurd to permit the government of this or that state to exercise this important power whenever it chose to do so.

THE ARMY AND THE MILITIA. The different nations of Europe are situated so close to one another that disagreements are likely to arise frequently among them. As a rule, therefore, most of them have, at great expense and sacrifice, maintained large standing armies. The United States is not surrounded by numerous foreign nations. We occupy the major part of a whole continent, and we are the most powerful nation on the continent. Not fearing the possibility of the landing of European troops upon our soil, it has been our policy from the beginning of our nation to maintain a very small standing army. The great European War which began in 1914 called the attention of the people of the United States to the fact that, with the marvelous development of ocean transportation, we are no longer as safe from attack as we formerly were. Moreover, we have important islands in the far seas which it is our duty to protect. No nation can provide, train, and equip an army of considerable numbers in a few weeks or even a few months. The probability is that the United States will, as time goes on, be compelled to abandon (to some extent) its policy of maintaining a very small standing army.

The United States army is primarily for the purpose of

defending the nation against enemies from without. Sometimes, however, it is used to preserve the peace within the states. However, troops of the army are never sent to the aid of any state unless the government or legislature of that state requests the President to send them. This is done only when the state militia are unable to handle the situation.

Very occasionally troops of the United States army are used to enforce the laws of the nation. In 1894, for example,

(Copyright, Underwood & Underwood)

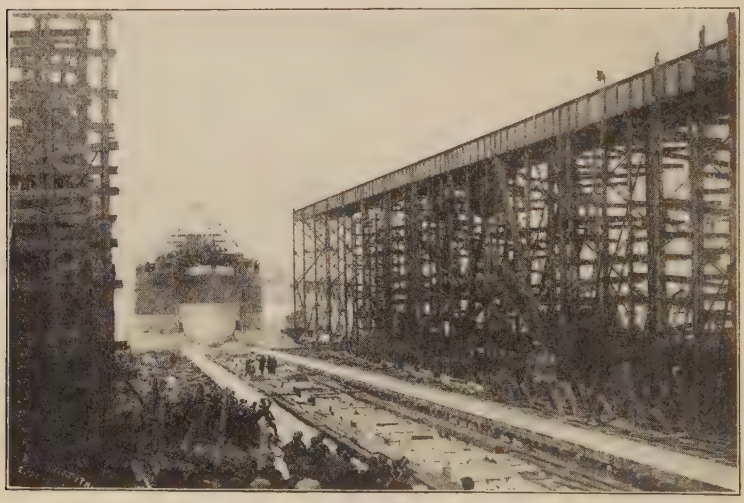
COAST DEFENSE GUNS

These twelve-inch guns fire a steel projectile weighing seven hundred and fifty pounds across a range of seven miles

there was a large strike among railway employes at Chicago, which is one of the most important railway centers in the United States. Commerce between the states was seriously interfered with, and trains carrying the United States mails were held up. President Cleveland sent the United States troops to put down the disturbance in order that the trains

might continue, under the laws of Congress, to carry the mails and the commerce going from one state into another.

We have seen that there is in the state of Virginia an organized militia for the purpose of preserving the peace of the state in times of unusual disturbance. In nearly all of the other states similar provision is made for maintaining companies of militia, these companies being known as the National Guard. State militia companies are organized and



LAUNCHING OF THE BATTLESHIP PENNSYLVANIA
This ship, built and launched at Newport News, Virginia, is one of the most powerful battleships afloat

disciplined in much the same way as are the troops of the United States army, although the militiamen, being employed in other occupations, give of course only a small part of their time to this work. The militia companies, however, are a supplement to the regular army and may be called into the service of the United States to suppress insurrection and repel invasion.

COAST DEFENSES. It is necessary that the seaports of our country should be fortified against attacks that might be made by the war vessels of an enemy. At many important points along the seacoast strong forts are built with powerful batteries of large guns. Fortress Monroe is the chief coast defense that is provided in Virginia by the national government. The government is planning, however, to fortify also Cape Henry and Cape Charles. Should a war break out, and the coast of the United States be in danger of attack, the government is prepared to strew what are known as mines in the waters along the seacoast in order to prevent the near approach of enemy vessels. These mines are sunk a little below the surface of the water and are so constructed that if struck by a vessel they will explode and destroy the vessel.

THE NAVY. If the United States should go to war with any nation of Europe or Asia, much of the fighting would be likely to take place on the water. Indeed, with a powerful navy, consisting of many war vessels of the different kinds that are needed, we should probably be able to prevent any serious attempt to land hostile troops upon our shore. If we destroyed or seriously crippled the navy of the enemy, it would be impossible for the enemy to approach our shores with ships filled with troops. It is because of this fact that the national government has provided a navy, which is being annually enlarged and strengthened. Since we acquired the Philippine Islands and built the Panama Canal, the need for a strong navy is even more apparent than it was formerly. The protection of these outlying possessions against an enemy is largely dependent upon the efficiency of the navy.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Does the state of Virginia maintain an army? A navy? A postal system? Does it build forts and protect harbors? Make treaties? Send diplomatic representatives to foreign nations? Coin money? Issue paper money? Show how each of these things is necessary for our pro-

tection or welfare. By whom are these things undertaken, and why? Explain, then, the necessity for our national government.

2. In what ways do the people of the United States associate with the people of foreign countries? Suppose a dispute arises between the United States and Great Britain; who settles it? Who has control over all our foreign affairs, and why?

3. Could the state of Virginia make a treaty with Germany? Why? Explain how treaties between the United States and a foreign government are made. Why are they made? How do they help us as a nation? Mention some of the treaties you have learned about in history. Why were they made?

4. What are ambassadors and ministers? Does Virginia appoint or receive ambassadors and ministers? Why? Who chooses the diplomatic representatives of the United States? Where are they sent? Why are they sent? What is the difference between an ambassador and a minister? Find out, if you can, to which countries the United States sends ambassadors. Find out, if you can, the names of some of our present diplomatic representatives. To what countries are they sent? Try to recall from your history some distinguished statesmen who have represented us abroad.

5. In the United States who has the power to declare war, and why? Who controls foreign commerce, and why? Who makes regulations for the vessels and goods which come from abroad and land at the seaports of Virginia?

6. Who maintains our army? Is it large or small, and why? Why is the army maintained? When may national troops be sent to protect life and property within some state? How is the army used to enforce the laws of the nation? Do you recall any instance of this? What part does the state militia have in the defence of the nation?

7. Explain why the United States is obligated to maintain a large navy. Explain how the seacoast is protected. Where is Fortress Monroe? Have you ever seen it? Tell all you know about it. Why should Cape Charles and Cape Henry be fortified? What are mines?

8. What people are known as immigrants? Where do they come from, and why? What restrictions are imposed upon immigrants who seek admission to the United States? Why are Orientals largely excluded? Why do some immigrants fail to become Americanized? What role do the schools play in the process of Americanizing these foreigners?

9. What is the meaning of naturalization? Do you know any person who has been naturalized? Where was he born? Has he the same rights that you have? What duty does he owe the government of the United States? How does a foreigner become a naturalized citizen of the United States?

CHAPTER XIX

COMMERCE, FINANCE, AND INDUSTRIES

PROMOTION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE. Mention has been made of the fact that the national government has complete power to regulate the commerce between the United States and foreign countries. The government does many things to help American citizens to secure markets abroad for their goods. To many of the important cities of the world the United States sends representatives known as consuls-general or consuls. It also sends to a few countries officers known as commercial attachés. These officers, as well as other special agents of the government, gather a great deal of information that is of value to American manufacturers and merchants. This information is published by the government for the benefit of those who are interested.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE. In this day of frequent travel and of large activity in commerce between different parts of the United States, we sometimes almost forget that there are any boundaries between the states. Goods are sent from one state to another as easily and as frequently as they are sent from one local community to another. This would not be the case, of course, if each state had the power to restrict people or goods from coming in from another state. If this were so, a great deal of confusion would naturally result, and much of our travel and commerce would be interrupted or destroyed. To avoid this difficulty the national government is given complete control over interstate commerce—that is, commerce passing from one state to another.

It has been the general policy of the national government to permit commerce to be carried on between the states without restrictions of any kind. In a few important instances,

however, the national government has imposed restrictions upon such commerce. We have seen that the government of Virginia regulates the rates and the service of railway companies and of telephone, telegraph, and express companies. Most of these companies, however, operate beyond, as well as within, the boundaries of Virginia. Naturally the government of Virginia cannot control their operations beyond the limits of the state, nor can the state government control their operations within the state in such way as to interfere with their interstate business. The national government, therefore, undertakes to regulate the rates and the service of such companies so far as these matters are a part of the interstate business of the companies. In other words, the power to control these companies is divided between the state government on the one hand and the national government on the other.

The national government also undertakes to prohibit the formation of enormous companies—trusts they are commonly called—which seek in one way or another to control this or that kind of business throughout the country and thus to charge as high prices as they choose. The government also endeavors to prevent persons and companies engaged in interstate business from adopting business methods and practices that are unfair. This field of the national government's activity is, however, exceedingly complicated. It is a subject which can be clearly understood only by trained lawyers.

NAVIGATION SERVICES. In connection with the regulation of foreign and domestic commerce, the national government undertakes to control and regulate many matters pertaining to the navigation of boats. In the first place, in order to promote the safety of passengers and crews, the government imposes many regulations upon those who operate boats. The government also has inspectors to examine boats to see that these rules are complied with. In the second place, the government establishes lighthouses and maintains

light-ships, buoys, and other aids to navigation. Without these aids, accidents upon the rivers, bays, and oceans would be far more frequent than they are. In the third place, the government maintains an elaborate life-saving service. Scattered all along the coasts, the great lakes, and many rivers are what are known as life-saving stations, where crews of strong men with life-saving boats and equipment stand ready to give help to any vessel in distress.

THE LIGHTHOUSES AT CAPE HENRY
In the center of the picture stands the new tower, the light from which may be seen many miles out at sea. To the left the apparatus of the United States wireless telegraph station is shown

THE PANAMA CANAL AND RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS. In order to facilitate commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, as well as with the Philippine Islands and the Orient, the national government has at enormous expense constructed the Panama Canal. This canal is owned and operated by the government. From time to time, also, the government spends a great deal of money in dredging and otherwise improving, for purposes of navigation, rivers and harbors in all parts of the country.

It is regrettable, however, that this money is not always devoted to the improvements that are most urgently needed.

CONTROL OVER INTERSTATE COMMERCE IN FOODS AND DRUGS. We have seen that our state and local governments undertake in many ways to protect the people against impure foods. To the extent, however, that these foods are shipped across state lines they are subject to control by the national government. In 1906 the national government passed a law known as the Food and Drugs Act and another law known as the Meat Inspection Act. Under this last mentioned law, the government maintains, at all of the large plants where meat is prepared and canned, inspectors whose duty it is to see that no diseased meat and no injurious substances get into the packages which are to be distributed over the country for sale. The government does not maintain inspection at plants in which such things as vegetables and fruits are canned and breakfast foods and other package foods are put up. The government does, however, buy up samples of these things in all parts of the country, and if it is found that any canner or manufacturer has violated the law, the government provides that he shall be punished.

THE INTERESTS OF LABOR. We have seen that the state of Virginia enacts laws for the special protection of those who are employed as laborers in the state. Nearly all regulations of this kind are made by the several states of the Union. The national government, however, makes many investigations concerning the conditions under which laborers are employed in the United States, collects a great deal of information on this subject, and in many ways endeavors to promote the interests of the laboring classes. The government is especially interested in investigating the conditions under which children are employed in labor.

THE POSTAL SERVICE. The business of carrying the mails is owned and operated exclusively by the national government. This great business of the government probably

brings it in closer relations with the everyday life of the people than any of its other activities. Post offices are established everywhere throughout the country, and everybody is more or less directly dependent upon the service which the government thus provides.

The government realizes that quick and cheap postal service is very necessary for the progress and development of the country. The charges for postage have, in the course of time, been greatly reduced. On account of their weight,

THE POST OFFICE AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

newspapers and magazines are of course more expensive to carry than letters; yet because these things promote the general knowledge and information of the people, the government carries them at lower rates than are charged for letters, even though this policy results in a great loss.

Within recent years the postal service has been improved in a number of important ways. The government has es-

tablished, for example, what are known as "rural free deliveries," so that the farmer now has his letters and newspapers brought promptly to his gate, just as in cities mail matter is delivered directly to the houses of the people. The government has also introduced into the mail service what is known as the "parcel post." For a long time small packages have been carried in the mails. The government now carries in the parcel post any package of merchandise that is not more than seven feet in length and girth combined and that does

(Copyright, Underwood & Underwood)

BUSY SCENE IN A CITY POSTOFFICE

Handling thousands of parcel post packages at the Christmas season

not weigh more than twenty pounds. Indeed, the government will receive and transport for limited distances packages weighing as much as fifty pounds. The charges for carrying packages in the parcel post vary with the weight of the package and the distance it is to be carried. Still another reform in the postal service has been the establishment of "postal

savings banks." These banks were provided chiefly for those who were unwilling to put their savings in banks that were privately owned and for those who could not conveniently do this. The government itself guarantees the safety of

(Copyright, Underwood & Underwood)

COUNTING COIN IN THE UNITED STATES TREASURY VAULTS
In the bags here shown there are $156,708,960 in silver dollars; $2,000,000 in half-dollars and quarters; as well as some gold coins, nickels, and pennies. The counting is done largely by weighing the bags

the deposits in these banks and pays a low rate of interest on them.

THE MONEY SYSTEM. If each state of the Union had the power to coin its own money and regulate its own money

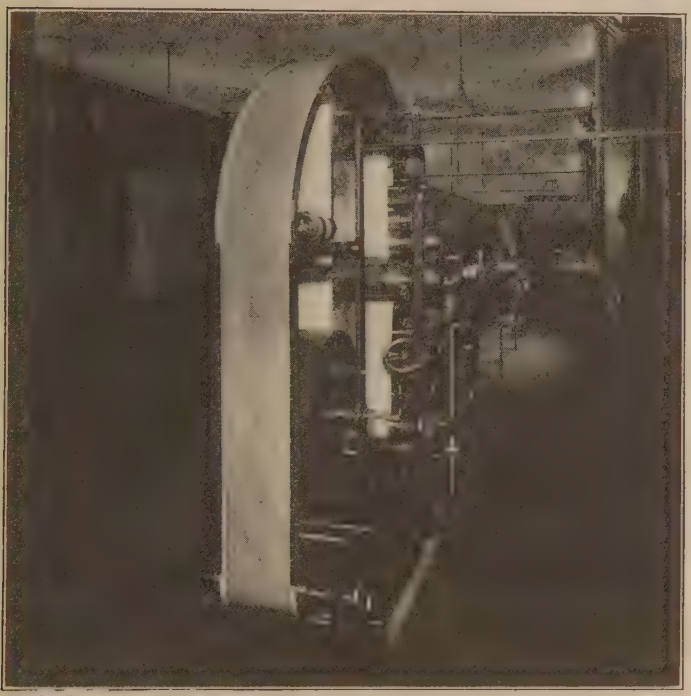
system, it is easy to imagine what confusion would result. We should have to keep in mind the value of the coins of forty-eight different states. This would be annoying beyond description. For this reason the national government is given the power to establish one money system throughout the entire country.

In order that we may be protected against frauds, the national government itself undertakes to coin the money that is used by the people and prohibits private individuals from doing so. The coins are made in the United States mints. The government punishes any person who attempts to duplicate or counterfeit United States coins. The national government also provides for the issue of paper money. It must not be thought, however, that the government can issue any amount of paper money that it chooses. A great many people have this foolish idea. It is impossible briefly to describe the various kinds of paper money that are issued. It is necessary to understand, however, that a one dollar, five dollar, or twenty dollar bill is nothing more than the promise of the government (or of some bank authorized by the government) to pay this amount of money in gold or silver coins. The government sees to it that sufficient coins are on hand to meet these money promises which are used in all parts of the country in the form of paper money. People very seldom make a demand for the actual payment of these promises; but if the government failed to keep enough coins on hand to pay them, the people would soon learn this fact and paper money issued by the government would become of less value, if not indeed wholly worthless. The state governments are forbidden either to coin money or to issue paper money.

THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM. Many of our banks are organized under state laws and are subject to the control of the states. Many banks, however, are known as national banks, and these are organized under national laws and are subject to the control of the national government.

There are thousands of such banks scattered throughout the country. It is only these national banks that are permitted to issue paper money, and they can make such issues only by complying with very strict requirements of the law.

The national government has also established what is



(*Copyright, Underwood & Underwood*)

A STAMP-PRINTING MACHINE

This machine prints, gums, perforates, and coils 300,000 stamps per day

known as a system of federal reserve banks. There are twelve such banks in the country, each of them operating in one of the twelve reserve districts into which the United States is divided. One of these banks is located at Richmond. The

federal reserve system is so complicated that it seems unnecessary to attempt to describe its many operations. It is sufficient to note that it plays a very important part in the regulation of the currency and the banking business in the country.

PATENTS AND COPYRIGHTS. When a person writes a book or invents a machine his book or his invention is really a part of his property. Unless he is protected in this property, however, someone else may reprint his book or manufacture his machine without his consent. This would deprive him of his just profits. In order to encourage authors and inventors the government provides them with protection for their work. To the author it issues what is known as a copyright, and to the inventor what is known as a patent. It is made unlawful for anyone, except the owner of a copyright or patent, to publish a book that has been copyrighted or to manufacture a machine or other device that has been patented.

PUBLIC LANDS AND FORESTS. The United States government formerly possessed in its own name a great deal of the land in the country. Most of this has been sold to private persons, although a considerable part of it was turned over to certain railway companies in order to encourage the building of railway lines; and another considerable part of it was given to certain states to aid in the development of their educational systems. The national government still owns some of the land, this being located chiefly in the western states. Some of this land is unproductive because of the dryness of the climate. The government in many places has undertaken to reclaim this arid land by constructing large irrigation systems.

The government has set aside in the western states large tracts of forest lands with the intention of preserving the forests against destruction. Recently, moreover, the government has purchased certain forest lands in the east, these lands being in the White and the Appalachian Mountains.

A few of these recently purchased forest lands are in the state of Virginia. The government permits certain timber to be cut from, and other uses to be made of, these forest lands. In many ways, also, it encourages the preservation of forest lands and endeavors to protect them from devastating fires.

PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE. We have seen that our state government undertakes in many ways to further the interests of those who earn their living by farming. The

FOREST DEPREDATION
Showing an oak tree ruined by "girdling," the bark being stripped off to be used as a carrier for huckleberries. This is one kind of destruction that the Forest Service seeks to prevent

national government also undertakes to promote the agricultural interests of the people. It collects and publishes a great deal of valuable information on almost every subject that is of interest to farmers. It maintains experiment stations in various parts of the country and also contributes a good deal of money for agricultural education in the various states.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Can Virginia prohibit persons from coming into the state from Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, or North Carolina? Can Virginia prohibit goods from being brought in from these states? Why? What do we mean by interstate commerce? Who controls it? Why? To what extent does the national government control railways, telegraph and telephone companies? Why?

2. Have you ever seen a life-saving station or a lighthouse? If so, describe it. Who maintains these things, and why? Why and by whom was the Panama Canal constructed?

3. To what extent and how does the national government protect us against impure foods?

4. Where is your nearest post office? Who maintains it? Why? Tell all that you know about the postal service in your community. Why are newspapers and magazines carried for less than letters? What is the parcel post? A postal savings bank? Why were these reforms introduced? How heavy a letter can you send for two cents? Find out how much it would cost to send a package weighing ten pounds from your post office to Washington. To New York. To Chicago. What are patents and copyrights? By whom are they issued and why? Look in the front of one of your school books and see who copyrighted it. What does this mean? Have you ever seen any article marked "patented" or "patent applied for"? Tell about the article and explain why it was patented.

5. Who coins the money we use? Why is Virginia not permitted to coin money? What is a mint? Why does the national government maintain mints? What is meant by counterfeiting? Why is it made a criminal offense? What is paper money? Who issues it? Why? Does Virginia issue any paper money? Why? Can the national government issue any amount of paper money it chooses?

6. What is a national bank? A federal reserve bank?

7. Why should forest lands be preserved? Have you ever seen or heard of a forest fire? How was it started? Could it have been prevented?

8. Try to find someone in your community who has secured information or assistance from the National Department of Agriculture. What sort of information or assistance did he secure?

FOURTH PART

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XX

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

THE MEANING OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION. We have seen that the government of Virginia is organized under a fundamental law which is known as the state constitution. Our national government also is organized under a constitution, and it is important for us to understand how the Union of states came to be formed, and how the national constitution was framed and established.

THE UNION OF THE COLONIES TO FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE. During the colonial period of our history each of the thirteen colonies was under the control of the British government. There was, however, no sort of union which bound them together. Each colony was independent of the others. They were forced to join hands only because the Parliament of the mother country began to oppress them and to impose upon them taxes which they felt were unjust. They realized fully that if their revolt against this oppression was to be successful, they would have to act together. In 1774 the colonists therefore determined to send delegates to what was known as a Continental Congress, which should represent them in their struggle with Great Britain. It was this Congress that issued the Declaration of Independence and provided for carrying on the Revolutionary War. The success of the war freed the colonies from British control.

They were no longer dependent colonies; they became independent states.

During the period of the war the Continental Congress exercised whatever powers were necessary. But naturally, after peace was established, the people were unwilling to have this Congress govern them as it chose. Even while the war was going on, steps were taken to determine how the government of the Union should be organized and what powers it should exercise.

UNION UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. In 1777 a committee of the Continental Congress drew up a plan of government for the new Union. The document which they prepared was known as the Articles of Confederation. It was provided that this government should not go into operation until every one of the thirteen states had agreed to accept it. In 1781 the last state gave its consent, and the government provided by the Articles of Confederation was set in motion.

The government established by the Articles of Confederation proved to be very unsatisfactory. The war had been costly, and the states were deeply in debt. Money was needed for carrying on the work of the new government; yet the government had no adequate way of raising money. It had no power to levy taxes upon the people. It had to call upon the different states to contribute to its support. The Congress of the Confederation could not compel the states to pay their contributions. Indeed, it could not compel obedience to any of the laws of the Union.

Within a few years it was seen that the government established by the Articles of Confederation was a hopeless failure. More than one attempt was made to give the Congress of the Union additional powers. But no change could be made without the consent of every state; and this it was impossible to secure. The far-seeing statesmen of the time realized that if the Union was to continue, something must be done to

increase the powers of the national government. Washington called it a "half-starved, limping government, always moving upon crutches, and tottering at every step."

Difficulties had early arisen between Virginia and Maryland over the control of commerce on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay, and these states seemed unable to settle their disputes. In 1785 the General Assembly of Virginia invited all the states to send representatives to a convention to be held at Annapolis the year following. This convention was called merely to consider the trade and commerce of the Union. Only five of the states were represented when the delegates came together. But a stirring address was issued calling upon the states to send delegates to another convention which should meet the next year for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787. The Convention which was thus proposed assembled in Philadelphia in May, 1787. It was composed of delegates from every state except Rhode Island. Nearly all the truly great men of that time were among its members. Washington was its president, and Virginia was also represented by James Madison, George Mason, and Edmund Randolph. Jefferson was not a member of this convention, for at this time he was representing the government of the United States in France. Prominent also in the Convention were Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton. It was a high-minded, patriotic, and noble body of men, which met at a critical time to determine how the Union might be strengthened and preserved.

As a matter of fact, the Convention did not attempt to revise the Articles of Confederation. They set about the task of drawing up a completely new form of government. After nearly five months of careful deliberation, their work was completed. They had framed a new constitution for the Union of states.

HOW THE NEW CONSTITUTION WAS MADE EFFECTIVE. The Convention sent the constitution which they had framed to the Congress of the Union, which was then in session. They requested that this Congress should, in turn, send it to the several states for consideration. In each of the thirteen states a convention representing the people of the state was called together to decide whether the state would accept or reject the new form of government. According to the plan adopted by the Convention, the constitution was to go into effect whenever nine of the states should accept it. By this action of its own convention each state made its own choice. No state was compelled to adopt the proposed constitution.

The conventions in some of the states had little difficulty in agreeing to adopt the new form of union. In others, however, the constitution hung in the balance for months. There were several reasons why the proposed constitution met with so much opposition. The states had but recently been freed from the oppressive yoke of Great Britain. They were now enjoying independence, and they feared to give up any large amount of power even to a government of their own creation. They were afraid that as states they would be deprived of too many rights, and that the people might not be secure in their liberties. This was perhaps the chief objection that the new constitution had to overcome.

Virginia was the tenth state to ratify the constitution. The opposition in Virginia was led by Patrick Henry, who protested violently against granting to the government of the Union such large powers as the constitution provided for. In the Virginia convention those members who were in favor of accepting the constitution were led by James Madison. In the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, it was Madison who had brought forward the plan of government which was, after many changes, finally adopted. In the end he

succeeded in carrying a small majority of the Virginia convention in favor of adoption.

By the summer of 1788 eleven states had ratified the constitution. North Carolina and Rhode Island alone refused their consent. Indeed they did not come in as members of the new Union until after the government had gone into operation. Before the spring of 1789, Washington had been unanimously chosen the first President of the United States; and the members of the first national Congress had been elected. The Congress of the old Confederation passed out of existence, and the government provided for by the new constitution, under which our national government is still established, came into being.

AMENDING THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION. We have seen that our state constitution, being the highest law of the state, is considered of such importance that the legislature is not permitted to change it. This is true also of our national constitution. Indeed it may be said generally that no constitution in the United States, whether state or national, can be amended simply by an act of the ordinary law-making body.

The constitution of the nation provides that changes, or amendments as they are called, may be proposed in Congress. But every proposed amendment must be passed by a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress, and it must thereafter be sent to the states for consideration. No amendment can become a part of the constitution until it has received the consent of the legislatures in at least three-fourths of the states. The constitution also provides that, upon application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, Congress shall call a convention for the purpose of proposing amendments, but this method of amending the constitution has never been used.

As a matter of fact, it is a very difficult matter to secure for any amendment a two-thirds majority of each house of

Congress and the consent of three-fourths of the states. It is, in consequence, very difficult to amend the national constitution. Since the constitution went into operation in 1789, more than twenty-five hundred amendments have been proposed in Congress. Most of these have failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote, and nearly all of the others have been lost when they have been submitted to the states. Seventeen amendments, however, have been adopted; and it is of interest and importance to note how these amendments came to be adopted.

THE FIRST TEN AMENDMENTS. At the time when the constitution was being discussed in the different state conventions much fear was expressed that it did not contain sufficient restrictions upon the powers of the national government. The people were afraid that the new government might not be careful to protect their liberties. Several state conventions, in adopting the constitution, proposed that certain amendments should be immediately passed for the purpose of protecting the people's liberties. In the first Congress that met under the new constitution, these amendments received the necessary two-thirds vote in each house of Congress, and they were very quickly accepted by the states. They were added to the constitution so early in our history that we may almost regard them as a part of the original constitution.

These ten amendments provide, among other things, for the protection of our freedom of speech and of the press, and our freedom of religion. They guarantee us the right of trial by jury in a fair and open court. They prohibit the national government from imposing unreasonably large fines or cruel and unusual punishments, or from making unreasonable searches of our dwellings and our private affairs. They provide also that our private property shall not be taken from us unless we are justly paid for it. These amendments protect us in certain of our rights against the powers of the

national government only. *It is important to note that they do not restrict the powers of the states.* As we have already learned, it is by means of our *state* constitution that we are protected in these matters against the powers of our state government.

THE ELEVENTH AMENDMENT. In 1793, four years after the new government had been established, trouble arose between the state of Georgia and the government of the United States over a suit that was brought against Georgia in the national courts. Georgia thought that the national government had no power to force any state to come before its courts. In order that the states might be protected against such suits, the eleventh amendment was passed.

THE TWELFTH AMENDMENT. The original method provided in the constitution for electing the President and Vice-President of the United States proved to be very awkward and unsatisfactory. In the year 1801 it produced serious trouble, and a bitter contest resulted before Thomas Jefferson finally triumphed over Aaron Burr. A few years after Jefferson's inauguration the twelfth amendment was passed by Congress and adopted by the necessary number of states. It provided for our present method of electing the President and Vice-President, which we shall have occasion to examine at a later point in our study.

THE THREE AMENDMENTS THAT RESULTED FROM THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES. During the period of our history just after the War Between the States, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments were added to the constitution. They were intended to protect and to give certain rights to the recently freed negroes.

By the thirteenth amendment slavery was abolished throughout the United States.

The fourteenth amendment provides, first of all, that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside."

This, of course, grants citizenship to the negroes. The amendment provides also that the states shall give to all persons equal protection of the laws, and guarantees that the national government will protect everybody, in his life, his liberty, and his property, against any unjust action on the part of the states. This amendment does not mention the negroes; but its purpose was evidently to afford them protection against the states.

We have already noted the qualifications which our own state requires of those who wish to vote at elections held in Virginia. Throughout the Union each state determines who shall and who shall not vote within its limits. However, by the fifteenth amendment to the constitution, it is provided that no state can deprive any person of his right to vote because of his "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The purpose of this amendment was to prevent the southern states from depriving the negro of his right to vote merely because he was a negro and because he had been a slave.

THE INCOME TAX AMENDMENT. As we shall see later, the national constitution placed certain restrictions on Congress in the matter of levying taxes. One of these restrictions prevented Congress from imposing taxes on the people in proportion to their incomes. In 1909 an amendment removing this restriction was submitted by Congress to the states; and in 1913 this amendment, having been accepted by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, was added to the constitution as the sixteenth amendment.

AMENDMENT FOR THE DIRECT ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS. The constitution did not provide for the election of senators by a vote of the people; it provided that they should be chosen by the legislatures of the various states. There were many disadvantages in choosing senators in this manner. The position of United States senator is usually much sought after, for it carries with it great dignity and influence. In consequence the members of

our state legislatures were often chosen solely with reference to how they would vote on the choice of a United States senator. Our state law-makers ought to be chosen wholly with reference to their ability to make proper laws for the state. Moreover, it frequently happened that the members of a state legislature were unable for many days to agree on the choice of a United States senator. The result was that the business of making laws for the state was seriously delayed and much bitter feeling was aroused. On several occasions, in this or that state, it was even disclosed that the friends of certain candidates had corrupted the members of the legislature by buying their votes.

For many years efforts were made to change this method of electing United States senators. This necessitated an amendment to the national constitution. Finally, on May 12, 1912, an amendment providing that senators should be elected by a direct vote of the people of the several states passed both houses of Congress by the necessary two-thirds vote and was sent to the state legislatures. Within one year it had been ratified by the legislatures in three-fourths of the states. In May, 1913, it was added to the constitution as the seventeenth amendment.

THE CONSTITUTION TODAY. The constitution as it now stands consists of the original text as it came from the Convention of 1787 and the seventeen amendments which have been added. Mr. Gladstone, the great English statesman, once made the remark that the constitution of the United States is the greatest work ever struck off at any one time by the mind and purpose of man. When we pause to think that it has, with few changes, stood the test of more than a century, we are indeed impressed with the marvelous greatness of the work of the Convention that framed it. In 1789 the constitution provided a national government for a straggling line of states along the Atlantic seaboard with a population of only a few millions. Today it provides for the

government of a mighty nation, stretching over a vast continent from coast to coast and extending its arms to the islands of the far seas—a nation with a population of more than ninety millions of people.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Explain why the American colonies were forced to unite in their struggle against the mother country. What were the Articles of Confederation? When and why were they drawn up? How were they adopted? Explain why the government established under the Articles of Confederation proved to be a failure.

2. What was the Constitutional Convention of 1787? When, where, and why did it assemble? Who were the delegates from Virginia? What was the result of the work of this Convention? Do you regard this Convention as the most important assembly in our history? Why?

3. How was the constitution ratified? How many states were required to ratify it before the constitution went into effect? Why did the constitution meet with opposition? Describe the struggle in the Virginia ratifying convention. When was the new government set in motion?

4. Explain how the constitution may be amended. Is it difficult or easy to change our constitution? Do you regard this as an advantage or a disadvantage?

5. How many amendments have been passed? Explain how and when the first ten amendments came to be adopted. Why was the eleventh amendment adopted? The twelfth?

6. Tell about the three amendments that resulted from the War Between the States. The income tax amendment. The amendment that provided for the election of United States senators by a vote of the people.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SUPREMACY OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES. We have seen that, in addition to the government of our state (which includes and controls the government of our local communities), there is a national government established over the entire Union of which our state is a part. We have seen also that this national government is organized under the constitution which was framed by the Convention of 1787. All of us, therefore, are subject not only to the government of our state, but also to the government of our nation. Each of these governments makes its own laws and has its own officers to carry them out. To each of them we owe loyalty and obedience, for each in its own way helps to promote our safety, peace, and happiness.

It is perhaps not easy to understand how we can be responsible to two governments at the same time—how we can be governed by two distinct groups of officers. Our national and our state governments are not independent of each other. On the contrary, each is dependent on the other. The national constitution did not attempt to set up a complete government. At the time of its adoption the state governments were already in existence, and they continued to exist. The national constitution simply made a division of powers between the government of the nation and the governments of the states. Our state government could not exist alone; for it does not provide for maintaining an army and navy, for the regulation of foreign affairs, the making of treaties, the coining of money, and many other things that are controlled by the government of the nation. Nor could our national

government exist without the states; for it does not provide for the punishment of various crimes, the regulation of property, the building of roads, the support of schools, the general protection of the health of the people, nor for many other things that are undertaken by the state governments.

In one sense, however, the national government is independent of the states, and the states are independent of the national government. All the powers that are usually exercised by a national government are, in the United States, divided between the states and the nation; and neither can exercise the powers belonging properly to the other. Each has its own independent sphere.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION IS THE "SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND." The constitution declares emphatically that it is itself the *supreme* law of the land. This means that the national government cannot pass any law or do any act which violates the constitution. It also means that the states, when they make their constitutions and pass their state laws, are compelled to respect the terms of the national constitution. This constitution, therefore, imposes restriction on both the national government and the states.

THE EXPRESS AND IMPLIED POWERS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. The constitution of the United States enumerates in detail the powers which the national government may exercise. We have already learned in general what these powers are. When Congress wishes to pass a law on any subject, it must first of all find its authority to do so in the constitution. Otherwise the law is said to be "unconstitutional"; and this means that it is no law at all. We are not obliged to obey those laws which, under the constitution, Congress has no power to enact. It must not be thought, however, that each of us can determine these matters for himself—that we may obey or disobey the laws of Congress as we choose. As we shall see, the constitution provides

a means by which we may seek the protection of the *courts* whenever Congress attempts to pass an "unconstitutional" law.

It is highly important to understand that the national government has certain powers which are not in so many words laid down in the constitution. The powers which are *expressly* or directly given to the national government by the constitution are not numerous. Almost from the beginning Congress found it necessary to exercise other powers, which are only indirectly given, or as we say, *implied* in the constitution. For example, the constitution has nothing directly to say about the power of Congress to regulate the manufacture of foods. As we have seen, however, Congress has exercised this power. The constitution simply gives Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce. But since foods of various kinds are shipped across state lines, and thus become a part of interstate commerce, the power of Congress to regulate the quality of these foods is implied. The power to enact such laws as the Food and Drugs Act and the Meat Inspection Act is, therefore, said to be *implied* in the power to regulate interstate commerce. This is only a single illustration of how the national government exercises powers that are not expressly given to it by the constitution. It is under this authority to exercise implied powers that the activities of the national government have been greatly extended.

THE RESTRICTIONS ON THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. While it is important to understand this, it is of even greater importance to understand that the national government cannot exercise powers which are neither expressly nor impliedly granted to it by the constitution. It cannot, for example, regulate matters pertaining to our public school system; for the national constitution does not grant to Congress any power which, by the widest stretch of the imagination, could be regarded as *implying* the power to control school affairs. In spite of the fact that the so-called implied powers

of the national government are numerous and important, it is nevertheless true that there are many important powers which Congress may not, under the constitution, exercise. These are left to the states. Our review of the activities of our state and local governments has indicated in a general way what powers are thus reserved from control by Congress and given over to the several states.

That Congress may exercise only those powers that are expressly or impliedly granted by the national constitution is the most important restriction that is placed upon the national government. In addition to this, however, a number of other restrictions are placed by the constitution upon the powers of the central government. It does not seem necessary to enumerate the entire list of these express restrictions; it is sufficient if we get some general idea of their character and importance.

As the constitution came from the hands of the Convention of 1787, it contained a number of express prohibitions upon the powers of Congress. For example, *after* an individual has committed an act, Congress is forbidden to pass any law providing for his punishment. Such a law is called an *ex post facto* law. Congress may of course provide for the punishment of similar acts in the future. It is not fair or just, however, that a person should be punished for an act which was not an offense against the law at the time when he committed it. When a person is arrested for an offense against the laws of the United States, he cannot be kept in prison indefinitely awaiting his trial. The national government cannot deny him the privilege of being taken before some officer of the law and shown the reason for his being held. This is called the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The United States government is also forbidden to grant any title of nobility, like the titles given in most European countries. Moreover, as we shall see later, very important re-

strictions are placed upon the powers of Congress in the levying of taxes.

It is in the first ten amendments, however, that we find most of the prohibitions upon the powers of the national government. These amendments, as we have learned, were adopted because the states feared that the government created by the new constitution might not respect the liberties of the people. Among other things they protect our freedom of speech and the press, and our freedom of religion. They provide that when a person is accused of crime against the laws of the nation, he shall be indicted by a grand jury, and shall be tried by a jury in a fair and open court, with the right to have his witnesses and a lawyer to defend him. They provide, too, that our private property shall not be taken from us by the national government without just compensation; and that civil suits—that is, suits over property, debts, and the like—in which the amount exceeds twenty dollars shall also be tried by a jury.

These are not all the restrictions placed upon the powers of the national government; but they are sufficient to illustrate how the national constitution protects our lives, our liberties, and our property from any tyranny on the part of the officers of the national government. Similar restrictions, as we have learned, are placed upon the powers of our state government by the constitution of the state of Virginia. Thus we are protected in our life, liberty, and property against both of the governments to which we owe loyalty and obedience.

RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON THE STATES. We have just seen that the most important restriction on the national government is that it may exercise *only* those powers that are expressly or impliedly granted by the national constitution. So likewise the most important restriction upon the powers of the states is that they may *not* exercise any of the powers thus given to the government of the nation. In

other words, powers are divided between the two, and each is restricted to its own sphere. In addition to this general restriction on the states, the constitution contains a few other prohibitions upon their powers. For example. when legal agreements, or contracts as they are called, have been made in any state, no law can be passed by that state to render these contracts less binding upon the parties who have made them. The states also are forbidden to pass any *ex post facto* laws. Nor can they make agreements with one another, or with a foreign government; nor maintain an army and navy; nor grant a title of nobility; nor coin money; nor levy duties on imports.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments also impose certain restrictions upon the powers of the states. As we have seen, they prohibit the states from re-establishing slavery, and from depriving any person of the right to vote because of his "race, color, or previous conditon of servitude." The fourteenth amendment declares thatino state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or proper y, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within tts jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The meaniing of this sweeping declaration has never been fully determined. As has been noted, it was intended primarily to protect the negro race; but it has actually been used much more frequently to protect corporations and others within the states from the operation of certain state laws. This whole question is very complicated; it belongs more properly to the study of law. Any attempt to explain it in our elementary study of government would only serve to confuse us.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TERRITORIES AND OTHER POSSESSIONS. The entire territory of what is known as "Continental United States" is now divided into forty-eight states. All of these, except the original thirteen states, have been admitted to the Union at various times by acts of Congress. There are parts of the United States, however, which

are not organized as states. There are the territories of Alaska and Hawaii, and there are the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, and a few other islands of less importance; and there is the District of Columbia. These territories and possessions occupy in our system of government a place entirely different from that of the states. They do not, like the states, enjoy any powers independent of the national government. The constitution gives Congress the power to determine how each of them shall be governed. Congress has, indeed, organized the territories of Alaska and Hawaii on a plan similar to that of the state governments; but Congress has the power to change this plan at any time—a power which it could not exercise over any state. Congress has also provided by law special governments for Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Could our national government make laws for the regulation of the school system of Virginia? For the management of trolley lines in Virginia? For the regulation of the sale of liquors in Virginia? Could it provide fire departments, sewer systems, electric lights, and street pavements for our cities? By whom are these things controlled? Why?

2. Could the state of Virginia maintain an army? A navy? A postal system? Could it build forts? Make treaties? Coin money? Issue paper money? By whom are these things controlled? Why?

3. Explain, then, what we mean when we say that our national government and our state governments are *independent* of each other. How is this independence secured? Who made the division of powers between the states and the national government? How was the division made? Are the states and the national government independent of each other in the same way that Great Britain and Italy are independent? Explain the difference.

4. Could the state of Virginia exist under its present constitution without the national government? Why? Could the national government exist without the states? Why? Explain, then, what we mean when we say that the states and the national government are *dependent* on each other.

5. What is meant by the express powers of the national government? The implied powers? The national government once built a post-road through Maryland; the national government has no express power to build roads; how, then, could the government build this post-road? Under what power did our national government acquire the Philippine Islands?

6. What is meant by the "reserved" powers? Who exercises these powers?

7. Can our national government restrict our liberty in any way that it chooses? How is it prevented? Can it, for instance, restrict our freedom of speech? Can it prescribe what church you shall attend? Or make you contribute to the support of some church? Why?

8. After you have committed some act, can the national government pass a law for your punishment? Why? Suppose you are arrested for some offense against the laws of the nation, can you be kept in prison indefinitely awaiting your trial? At your trial what rights would you have? How are these rights secured to you? Why were the first ten amendments to the constitution passed?

9. Does the national constitution place any restrictions on the powers of the states? Mention some of these restrictions.

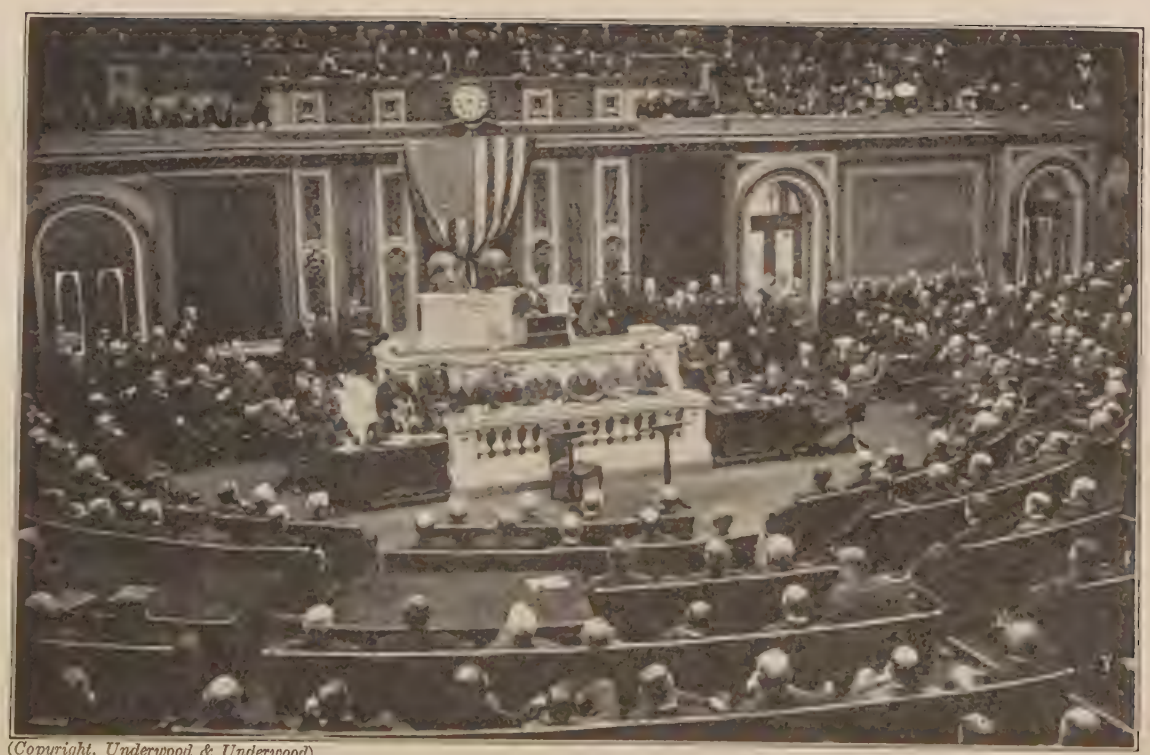
CHAPTER XXII

CONGRESS

REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS. The national constitution, which was adopted in 1789, provides for a legislature composed of two houses. One of these is known as the House of Representatives and the other as the Senate. In order for any measure to become a law, it must be passed by both of these houses of Congress. Thus the makers of our constitution sought to prevent laws from being made without due care and deliberation.

In the Congress that existed during the period of Confederation (1781-9), each state was entitled to cast only one vote, without regard to its population or the number of representatives that it had in Congress. The small state of Delaware had, therefore, as much power in making the laws of the nation as Virginia, which was then the largest state of the Union. At the time of the framing of our present constitution, the smaller states wished to continue this equal representation of the states in Congress. The large states, however, wanted to be represented in proportion to their population, for this would increase their power in the national legislature. When it was decided that Congress should consist of two houses, the difficulty was readily overcome. The large states were given what they desired in one house and the small states in the other. It was provided that in the House of Representatives each state should be represented according to its population. In the Senate each state was given the same number of senators.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. For the purpose of electing congressmen—as members of the House of Representatives are usually called—each state is divided into



(*Copyright, Underwood & Underwood*)

PRESIDENT WILSON READING A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Both senators and congressmen are here shown assembled in the Hall of the House of Representatives

congressional districts, and one congressman is elected by the voters of each district. At present Virginia has a population which entitles the state to ten congressmen. There are, therefore, ten congressional districts in Virginia. It must not be supposed, however, simply because congressmen are elected by districts, that they represent only the interests of their districts. Unfortunately this is too often the case. Every representative should act solely for the interests of the entire nation.

Provision is made in the constitution for ascertaining the number of people in each state by taking a census every ten years. After each new census Congress has to determine how many representatives each state is to have in accordance with the new record of its population. This is called "re-apportioning" the representation of the states. At this time some states are given additional representatives because of their large increase of population since the preceding census. Moreover, a state may, in the reapportionment, be deprived of one or more of its representatives, although in practice this is usually avoided.

At present each congressman is elected by a population of about 200,000 people. If, however, a small state has less than this population, it must be given at least one representative. The constitution does not place any limit upon the size of the House of Representatives. At present it numbers 435 members.

Members of the House of Representatives are chosen every two years in November of the even-numbered years (1916, 1918, etc.). Each representative, therefore, serves for a term of two years. If he returns to Congress for another term, he must be re-elected by the voters of his district. It is a fact that representatives are sometimes re-elected for many terms.

THE SENATE. In the United States Senate each state, without regard to its population, is entitled to two senators.

The result is that the least populous state of the Union, Nevada, with only about eighty thousand inhabitants, has the same representation in the Senate as New York, with a population of more than nine millions.

We have already noted that senators were formerly chosen by state legislatures, but that, since the adoption in 1913 of the seventeenth amendment to the constitution, they are elected by a direct vote of the people of the several states. A senator holds his seat for a term of six years. Unlike the House of Representatives, the entire Senate is not renewed at the end of the senatorial term. Instead of the whole number of senators being chosen every six years, one-third of them are chosen every two years. By this means it is impossible for more than a third of the Senate to consist of new members; for the other two-thirds always hold their positions over from one Congress to another. Moreover, many of the senators are re-elected at the end of their terms of office. The Senate, in consequence, consists of a body of men most of whom have held their seats for a long period of time. This gives a permanence of character to the Senate which the House of Representatives lacks because of the many changes that are made every two years.

The term of one of the senators from Virginia expires in 1917, 1923, and every sixth year thereafter. We elect a senator, therefore, at the regular November elections in 1916, 1922, and so on. The term of our other senator expires in 1919, 1925, and every sixth year thereafter. We elect a senator for this seat, therefore, in November of 1918, 1924, and so on. As we have already noted, each state determines for itself who may vote in the elections of congressmen and senators.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS BY POLITICAL PARTIES. Of course the several political parties put forward candidates for congressmen and senators whenever these officers are about to be elected.

Each party seeks to secure the election of as many of its candidates as possible. If a majority of the members of the House and the Senate belong to a particular party, that party is then in a position to enact such laws and carry out such policies as it may have promised to the voters. As we shall see a little later, the promises of each party are set forth in what is known as the national party platform. These platforms are adopted by the national conventions of the several parties, which meet every fourth year, in the summer preceding the election of a President.

While the platform of each party is made by a convention of delegates from all parts of the country, the candidates for Congress are nominated in each state in the manner that is prescribed by the laws of the particular state. For example, under the laws of Virginia, each party decides for itself whether its candidates shall be chosen by party conventions or shall be elected by the voters of the party at the regular primary elections, which are held every year on the first Tuesday in August.

THE SESSIONS OF CONGRESS. We have seen that all of the congressmen and one-third of the senators are elected in November of the even-numbered years (1916, 1918, 1920, etc.). The persons so elected, together with the two-thirds of the senators who hold over, form a new Congress. In theory the life of this new Congress begins on the fourth of March following these biennial November elections (March 4, 1917, 1919, 1921, etc.). However, unless the President calls the Congress in an extra and earlier session, it does not actually come together until the first Monday in December following —that is, about thirteen months *after* the election has been held. Congress then usually continues in session until some time during the following summer. This first session of every newly elected Congress is known as its "long session." In November following this long session the time arrives for the election of another Congress. In December following this

election the old (not the newly elected) Congress comes together for its second session. This is called its "short session," because it must come to an end on the fourth day of the following March, when the two-year life of the Congress expires. To illustrate, the members of the Sixty-Fourth Congress (except two-thirds of the senators, whose terms had not expired) were elected in November, 1914. The life of this Congress began March 4, 1915. It assembled for the first time in December, 1915. It adjourned in the summer of 1916. In November, 1916, the members of the Sixty-Fifth Congress were elected. But in December, 1916, the Sixty-Fourth Congress came together for its short session, which came to an end on March 4, 1917.

There are of course many disadvantages about this arrangement. It is almost absurd to think that a congressman who has perhaps been defeated for re-election in November should nevertheless return to Washington and assist in making the laws of the nation for a period of several months after his defeat.

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. The constitution requires that senators and representatives shall be citizens of the United States and residents of the state from which they are chosen. Senators must be at least thirty years old and congressmen at least twenty-five years old. Usually, too, a congressman must reside in the district in which he is elected, although this is not required by the constitution.

In general only men of intelligence and high character are chosen to be members of the national Congress. Nearly always a majority of them are lawyers of ability. The longer a congressman or senator holds his seat in Congress the more influential he becomes. Ordinarily a representative who holds office for only a single term of two years does not wield a large amount of influence in the law-making body of the nation.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS. Each house of Congress has the power to determine how it shall be or-

ganized for business, and whether those who claim to be members have been properly chosen. Each house elects its own officers, with the single exception that the Vice-President of the United States is the presiding officer of the Senate.

The House of Representatives chooses for its presiding officer one of its own members. This officer is called the Speaker. He is not mentioned in the national constitution; but owing to the powers which have been given him by the House, the Speaker is a very important figure in the national government. He is usually the strongest man in the political party which has elected a majority of the members of the House. He has many important powers over the conduct of the business of the House. In recent years, however, some of the Speaker's powers have been taken away from him; for it was felt that the control which he had over the making of the laws and over the rights of individual members of the House was far greater than any single man ought to enjoy. Even though they have been somewhat diminished, the Speaker still has very large powers. Especially is this seen when his powers are contrasted with those of the Vice-President, who presides over the Senate.

THE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS. Everyone who visits the House of Representatives during a session of Congress is impressed by the general disorder that usually prevails. It seems almost as if no business at all is being transacted. Many of the members are absent from their seats, and those who are present are often reading newspapers, or walking about, or conversing with one another. Usually some member is speaking, but it often happens that scarcely anybody is listening to him. It is only upon exceptional occasions that all the members are in their seats giving close attention to the speeches that are being made. Moreover, the House is frequently in session only an hour or so during the entire day. How is it that so many important measures can be passed by this House under such circumstances? It is

because the *real* business of the House is being carried on in the committee rooms.

When a new Congress comes together, and the Speaker and other officers have been chosen, the first business of each house is to elect a large number of standing committees. Each of these committees has for its consideration measures that relate to one particular branch of the national government's work. Every congressman and every senator is eager to be chosen as a member of one or more important committees; for it is in the committee room that a congressman or a senator does his real work and becomes a power in making the laws of the nation. In each house the chairman and a majority of each committee belong to the political party which at the time has a majority of members in the house.

THE MAKING OF A LAW. At every session of Congress an enormous number of measures are introduced in each house. Not one in ten of these measures is enacted into law. Every member is permitted to introduce any measure that he chooses; but if every member could compel the house to consider his proposal immediately, almost nothing would be accomplished. Hence the committee system has been adopted. When a measure is introduced by any member, it is referred at once to an appropriate committee. The committee considers the proposition carefully and perhaps revises it. It may conduct a hearing, so that those who are in favor of, or opposed to, the measure may have the chance to give their opinion and advice. Later the committee may report the measure to the house and advise that it be enacted or rejected. Many proposals the committees simply ignore. They do not report them at all, but allow them to "die" in the committee room. Important bills, after they have been reported by a committee, are discussed in the house, and frequently they are amended before they are passed. Sometimes, however, the house relies largely upon the report of the committee and passes or rejects the bill according to its recommendation.

This method of handling the business of Congress by means of committees makes it possible for a large number of bills to be considered. More than two thousand laws have sometimes been passed by a single Congress, and many times that number of measures are proposed and referred to the various committees. When any bill has passed through one house of Congress, it must go through a similar process in the other house, and later, as we shall see, it must be submitted to the President for his approval or veto.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Find out the number of the congressional district of Virginia in which you live. How many people live in this district? Find out the name of the present congressman from your district. When was he elected? How many terms has he served? When will the next congressional election be held? Will your congressman be elected at the same time that congressmen will be chosen in other districts of Virginia and in the other states of the Union?

2. How many congressmen has Virginia? Explain why Virginia has this number, while New York, for instance, has many more, and Delaware many less. Who determines the number of congressmen that each state shall have? How often is this matter determined? When will the next reapportionment take place?

3. How many senators has Virginia? How many have the other states? Find out the names of the present senators from Virginia. How long has each of them served? How were they chosen? When? How long has each of them yet to serve? When will the people of Virginia choose another senator? Will one or two be chosen at this time? Why?

4. How many members has the Senate? Why? How long is their term of office? Are all of them chosen at the same time? Explain, then, how the Senate is only partly renewed from one Congress to another. What advantage has this? How were senators formerly chosen? Why was this system abolished? How was it abolished?

5. What advantage is there in having two houses of Congress? Explain how the people are represented on a different basis in each house. Why was this plan adopted?

6. Explain how candidates for the two houses of Congress are nominated by political parties in Virginia.

7. How long does each Congress exist? How many regular sessions does each Congress hold? When do the sessions begin and how long do

they last? What is meant by the "long" and the "short" session of Congress? Explain how the members of one Congress are elected before the short session of the preceding Congress is held. What disadvantage has this?

8. Is Congress in session at present? If not, when will it assemble? Will this be for the long or the short session? How do you know?

9. What qualifications are required of congressmen and senators?

10. Who presides over the Senate? Over the House of Representatives? What power has the Speaker? How is he chosen? Who is the present Speaker of the House? Who is the present Vice-President of the United States?

11. Why was the committee system adopted in Congress? How are the committees chosen in each house? Explain how every measure must pass through either house of Congress. Explain in full, then, how every law is made. What advantages has this system?

12. Where does Congress meet? Have you ever seen the Capitol? Describe it. Have you ever attended a session of either house of Congress? Tell the class what you saw. Describe the Hall of the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EXECUTION OF NATIONAL LAWS

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. The constitution does not confer upon state officers the power to put the laws of the nation into operation. It provides that the national laws shall be executed exclusively by national officers, with the President of the United States at their head. Congress has provided by law what officers, in addition to the President, are necessary for carrying out the laws. These officers constitute the executive department of the national government.

THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT. When the voters of the several states go to the polls to elect a President and a Vice-President, they do not vote *directly* for the candidates for these offices. They cast their votes for a number of officers known as presidential electors. The constitution provides that each state may choose as many presidential electors as it has representatives and senators in Congress. The whole number of electors in any state is known as its electoral college. Under this system the voters of Virginia elect at each presidential election twelve presidential electors; for, as we have seen, Virginia has in Congress ten representatives and two senators.

In each state the proper number of electors are chosen at the polls in November of every fourth year (1916, 1920, etc.). In each state these electors come together the following January to vote for a President and a Vice-President of the United States. They send the result of their vote to Washington, where the votes of the electors in all the states are counted. The original idea was that the presidential electors chosen in the several states would be men of greater ability

than the average voter, and that they would be better able, therefore, to choose a suitable President and Vice-President. As a result of the control which political parties have over these elections, the electoral colleges were at a very early date deprived of this important power.

As we shall see in a moment, each of the political parties nominates one candidate for President and another for Vice-President. Either by a party convention or at a direct primary election the proper number of presidential electors are nominated by each party in each state. When the voters go to the polls, they are given ballots which contain the list of the electors that are nominated in this fashion by each of the parties, and the voters cast their ballots for the electoral candidates of one or another party. The electors that are chosen have in fact no independence at all. They *must*, upon being elected, vote for the candidates for President and Vice-President that their party has previously nominated. No elector would dare vote for any other. While the voters still continue to vote at the polls not directly for President and Vice-President but for presidential electors, this has become a mere form. They *actually* vote for the candidates of their party; for when the electors of a particular party are victorious at the polls in any state, these electors *cannot*, when they meet in the electoral college of their state, cast their votes for any other than the candidates of their party. So little part do the electors actually have in choosing the President and the Vice-President that the average voter scarcely knows or cares who they are.

When the votes of the electors are counted at Washington, each state is counted as having one vote for each elector to which it is entitled. The *entire* electoral vote of any one state is, however, usually cast for the candidate of *one* political party, even though the parties in the state are divided nearly evenly. For example, if the Democratic party in Virginia has only a small majority of voters over the Republican party,

(Copyright, Underwood & Underwood)

THE PRESIDENT READING HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS ON THE STEPS OF THE CAPITOL

the Democratic electors will be chosen at the polls instead of the Republican electors. These electors will cast *all* of Virginia's twelve electoral votes for the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President.

The whole number of electoral votes is 531, for there are in Congress 96 senators and 435 representatives. It requires a majority of the electoral votes to elect a President or a Vice-President. Otherwise, the House of Representatives chooses the President, and the Senate chooses the Vice-President.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT BY POLITICAL PARTIES. Party candidates for President and for Vice-President are nominated by each of the political parties at its national convention. These conventions consist of delegates chosen in the several states either by party conventions or at direct primary elections. They meet usually in June preceding the November elections at which presidential electors are chosen. Each convention, consisting of about 1,000 members, assembles in some enormous hall in one of our large cities.

All of the arrangements for the meeting of these conventions are made by what is known as the national committee of each party. This committee, consisting of one member from each state, has general control over the affairs of the party.

THE PLATFORM AND THE CAMPAIGN. In addition to choosing the party candidates for President and Vice-President, the national convention draws up what is known as the platform of the party. This platform is a statement of the views of the party on important questions in which the people are interested. It declares what the candidates of the party will and will not do if they are elected. Unfortunately these platforms sometimes contain promises that are intended only to attract voters for the party candidates. When the election is over, those who have been chosen to office do not

always seek to carry out the promises which their party made in its platform.

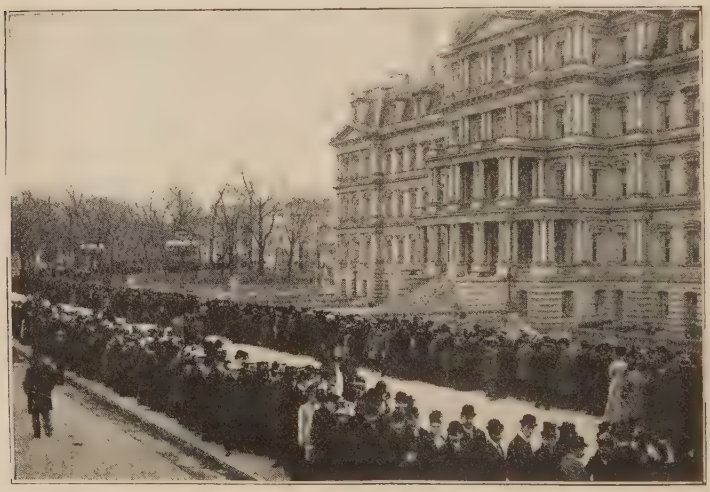
The party platform is published in the newspapers throughout the land. It is freely discussed in the speeches that are made during the campaign, as the period preceding the election is called. Each party explains and upholds its own platform, while it opposes and denounces the platform of the other party. The entire campaign, which lasts up to the time of the November elections, is managed by the national party committee.

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS. The President of the United States is elected for a term of four years, which term begins on the fourth of March following the election of the electors in November. Many of our Presidents have been re-elected for a second term, but it is now a fairly established custom that no President will be re-elected for a third term. The constitution and the laws of Congress grant many important powers to the President and impose upon him many important duties.

In the first place, the President plays an important role in the making of the laws of the nation. At the opening of each session of Congress, he sends to the national legislature a message in which he discusses the condition of the country and recommends the passing of certain laws. In 1913 President Wilson adopted the plan of reading his message to Congress in person. This was a plan which no President had followed since the administration of Thomas Jefferson. Sometimes during the session the President sends (or reads) further messages to Congress, and at all times he keeps closely in touch with the leaders of the House and the Senate, consulting and advising with them as to the framing of bills.

When a bill has finally passed both houses of Congress, it must be sent to the President for his signature. The constitution gives him ten days in which to consider the bill. If at the end of that time he has taken no action, the measure

becomes a law without his signature. Before the expiration of these ten days, however, the President may veto the bill and return it to Congress with his reasons for refusing to approve it. If Congress passes the bill again by a majority vote of two-thirds in each house, the measure becomes a law in spite of the President's disapproval. It is usually very difficult, however, to secure the two-thirds vote necessary to "override" the President's veto. If, after a bill has



A NEW YEAR'S RECEPTION AT THE WHITE HOUSE
Showing thousands of persons in line entering the White House on the occasion of the President's public reception held on New Year's Day. The large building in the foreground is occupied by the State, War and Navy Departments

been presented to the President, Congress adjourns before the expiration of ten days, the bill does not become a law without the President's signature. This is known as the "pocket veto."

When Congress is not in regular session at Washington, the President is sometimes convinced that measures of im-

portance should be immediately enacted into laws. At such times he has authority to call a special session of the national legislature.

The power of the President to send, or read, messages to Congress, to veto bills, and to call extra sessions of Congress may not seem to give him much control over the enactment of laws. In fact, however, his influence in the making of the laws is very great. He is chosen to be head of the branch of the government which merely *executes* the laws that Congress makes. But the fact is that he is usually elected because he and his party promise that certain laws will be enacted; and after his election the people of the country expect him to see that these promises are fulfilled.

In the second place, the President is in large part responsible for the proper enforcement of national laws, because he has the power to appoint so many of the officers who are charged with this duty. He and the Vice-President are the only national officers who are elected. All of the other officers who execute national laws are appointed. The most important of these, such for instance as the heads of departments, ambassadors and ministers, the chiefs of bureaus in charge of important services, and many officers who serve in various localities, such as postmasters, district attorneys, and customs and internal revenue collectors, are nominated by the President and approved by a vote of the Senate. In addition to these, a vast number of less important officers and employes are appointed after competitive examinations are held under the direction of a board known as the Civil Service Commission.

In nominating many of these important officers the President cannot always act with independence. He is influenced and controlled largely by the wishes of senators and congressmen. Especially is this true in the appointment of such officers as district attorneys, postmasters, and customs and internal revenue officers, who serve at posts throughout the

entire United States. Senators and congressmen usually have great influence with the President in such appointments.

The President must see that the laws of the nation are faithfully executed. It is his duty, therefore, to see that the other executive officers are properly performing their work. This would be impossible unless the President had the power to remove from office those who were inefficient, or who refused

(Copyright, Underwood & Underwood)

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE BUILDING

The White House, connected with the executive offices by an esplanade, is seen in the background

to carry out the law or his orders. With the exception of a period of about twenty years in our history, the President has always exercised the important power of removing officers.

Officers are removed by the President not only to secure better service in the government but sometimes also in the

interest of party politics. Whenever a new President is elected by a party which has been out of power, it is usual for a number of the more important officers either to resign or to be removed from office by the President. Their places are then filled by members of the political party which has come into control of the government.

In the third place, the President is the head of the government for the management of foreign affairs. He has the power, with the consent of the Senate, to appoint those diplomatic officers who are sent to represent us in foreign countries. It is he, also, who receives the diplomatic representatives who are sent by other nations to the United States. As we have already seen also, he has the power to draw up treaties with foreign nations, although these must afterwards be approved by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The President is thus the most important officer of the nation in the conduct of our relations with foreign nations.

In the fourth place, the President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. This gives him large control over the appointment of army and navy officers and over the movements of our land forces and vessels of war. Congress has given him the power to call out the state militia in time of public danger, and the constitution places him also at the head of these forces when they are called into the service of the nation.

In the fifth place, the President has power to pardon those who have committed offenses against the laws of the United States. This power is given to the President for the same reason that the Governor of our state is given the power to pardon those who have committed offenses against the laws of Virginia.

THE COMMANDING POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT. This brief enumeration of the President's powers gives a very faint conception of the great importance of his office. Many of his powers are similar to the powers that

are exercised in Virginia by the Governor. The President, however, exercises his powers over the *whole* United States, and the laws which he assists in making, and which he and his appointees execute, are the laws of the entire nation. Moreover, in addition to the ordinary powers that every Governor exercises within his state, the President has a large control over the foreign affairs of the nation and over the army and navy. He also has a much larger power over the appointment and removal of the executive officers of the nation than the Governor has over the appointment and removal of state officers. He occupies, therefore, a more important position in the government of the nation than the Governor in the government of the state. As a matter of fact, he is the most commanding and powerful officer in the United States. He is directly responsible to the people who placed him in office for the faithful performance of his duties.

The constitution requires that the President shall be a natural born citizen of the United States—thus excluding naturalized citizens. He must be at least thirty-five years old and must have resided in the United States for fourteen years preceding his election.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. In case the office of President becomes vacant for any cause, he is succeeded by the Vice-President, an officer who is elected at the same time and for the same term as the President. In case both the President and the Vice-President are unable to fill the office, Congress has provided by law that the heads of the several executive departments shall fill the vacancy in the following order: The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior. Five Presidents of the United States have died in office and have been succeeded by Vice-Presidents.

THE CABINET. Of course the President does not personally execute many of the laws of the nation. For this work

Congress has created a vast administrative organization, which consists of ten great departments and several important commissions or boards. Each of the ten departments has an officer at its head who is called either a "secretary" or a "general." These officers are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, and they act as advisers to the President in all important matters. He not only consults them individually, but he also brings them together once or twice a week. When they come together these heads of departments constitute what is known as the President's Cabinet. The President is not compelled to act upon the advice of the Cabinet, but this organization is nevertheless of great assistance to him.

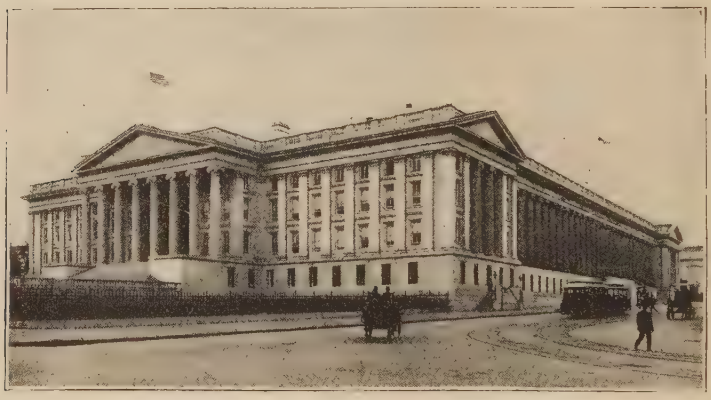
THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS. The central offices of the ten great departments are located in Washington, where thousands of officers, clerks, and employes are engaged in carrying on the work of the government. For convenience these departments are organized into bureaus or divisions, each in charge of a chief officer who is usually appointed by the President and the Senate. It must not be thought, however, that the work of the national government is performed entirely in Washington. Practically all of the departments have numerous officers and employes who carry on the work of the government in all parts of the country. These scattered officers are subject to the control and direction of the departments at the national capital.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT. Headed by the Secretary of State, this department attends to all the details of our foreign affairs. It gives instructions to our diplomatic representatives abroad and superintends all our relations with foreign governments.

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT. Headed by the Secretary of the Treasury, this department manages the financial affairs of the nation, collects its revenues, controls

the mints and the national banks, and pays out such money as is authorized by Congress.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT. Headed by the Secretary of War, this department provides for the recruiting, equipment, and management of the army. It controls the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, where young men are trained for service as officers in the army. The improvement of our rivers and harbors is also undertaken by the engineers of this department.



THE UNITED STATES TREASURY BUILDING

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT. Headed by the Secretary of the Navy, this department provides for the navy in the same way that the War Department provides for the army. It controls the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, where young men are trained to be officers of the navy.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT. Headed by the Postmaster General, this department has the entire management of the United States postal service.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. Headed by the Attorney General of the United States, this department gives

advice on questions of the law to the President and the other executive officers of the nation. When the United States government sues or is sued in the courts, the national government is represented by the Attorney General or by one of the United States district attorneys, who are under his control.

THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT. Headed by the Secretary of the Interior, this department has control over a number of matters relating to the affairs within the country, such as Indian affairs, public lands, pensions, and patents.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. Headed by the Secretary of Agriculture, this department collects information in regard to the agricultural conditions of the country, the improvement of roads, and similar matters. As we have seen, the department has no control over these things. It is established merely to advise and assist those who desire information. It has control also over the weather bureau, the government forest reserves, and the enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act and the Meat Inspection Act.

THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE. Headed by the Secretary of Commerce, this department promotes the commercial interests of the country by gathering and furnishing information—especially information concerning opportunities for American trade in foreign countries. This department also manages most of those services which regulate and assist navigation.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. Headed by the Secretary of Labor, this department makes investigations and collects information that is of interest in connection with the improvement of the conditions of the laboring classes in the United States. It maintains a special bureau devoted to the interests of children who work in industry. It also supervises and enforces the immigration and naturalization laws.

THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONS. In addition to these ten large departments, there are in the national executive organization a few important commissions which are independent of any department. The Interstate Commerce Commission, consisting of seven commissioners, controls and regulates the interstate business of railway, telegraph, telephone, car, and express companies. The Federal Trade Commission, consisting of five commissioners, regulates the business of companies that ship goods in interstate commerce in order to prevent these companies from being unfair in their business methods. The Civil Service Commission, consisting of three commissioners, conducts examinations in all parts of the country for those who desire to secure positions in the service of the national government. The Federal Reserve Board, with seven members, supervises and controls the business of the twelve federal reserve banks

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Do the officers of our state government execute the national laws in Virginia? If not, how are the national laws enforced? Explain why the national executive officers are necessary.

2. Who is now President of the United States? When was he elected? When did he take office? How long has he yet to serve? May he be re-elected at the end of his present term of office?

3. What is meant by presidential electors? How are they nominated? How are they elected? What is their duty? Do you know of any one who has ever been a presidential elector? Why do we take so little interest in the choice of presidential electors? Explain fully the original idea of the electoral college. Have the electors any independent choice in casting their vote for President and Vice-President? Explain how, in spite of the fact that we cast our vote at the polls for presidential electors, we in reality vote for one of the candidates for President.

4. How many electoral votes has Virginia? Why? Explain how the *entire* electoral vote of Virginia may be cast for the Democratic candidate even though only a small majority of the voters in the state may vote for the presidential candidate of this party.

5. Explain how party candidates for the presidency are nominated by political parties. What is the platform? Who draws it up, and where? What is meant by the campaign?

6. Why is the President required to send messages to Congress? What is meant by his veto? How may it be "over-ridden"? When may the President call a special session of Congress? Does the President have any influence in the making of our national laws?

7. What officers of the national government are elected by the people? How are the other important officers chosen—the heads of departments, for instance, the ambassadors and ministers, the judges, the postmasters? How are most of the less important officers chosen? Suppose the President wishes to nominate the postmaster in your community, how would he probably get the names of suitable candidates for this position? How would the appointment be made? How is the President influenced in the nominations which he makes to the Senate?

8. Why is it necessary that the President should have the power to remove cabinet and other officers? What share does the President have in making our treaties with foreign countries? What is his position in the army and navy?

9. Who may be chosen President of the United States? In case of the President's death, who succeeds him? In case of his successor's death, who would become President?

10. What is meant by the President's cabinet? What are the names of some of the present cabinet officers? Who appointed them? Who may remove them?

11. What is meant by the executive departments? How many departments are there? Give the name of each of these departments and some idea of its business. What important independent commissions are there?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE NATIONAL COURTS

THE NECESSITY FOR NATIONAL COURTS. It is easy to understand the difficulties that would arise if the courts of the various states of the Union were given the sole power to explain and apply the laws of the nation. Courts in different states would explain the national laws quite differently. They might even be unfriendly to the laws passed by Congress and might refuse to enforce them. In order to avoid this confusion and weakness, the constitution provides for a system of national courts which are wholly independent of the state courts. These courts constitute the judicial department of the national government.

The constitution says that there shall be one Supreme Court of the United States and as many other courts as Congress may see fit to establish. Congress, therefore, has by law determined what national courts shall be established in addition to the Supreme Court, and how many judges shall be appointed for each court, including the Supreme Court.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT. The Supreme Court consists of nine judges, or justices as they are called. One of these, the Chief Justice, presides over the court. No case can be heard by less than six of these justices, and a majority of those hearing the case must agree upon every judgment that is made. Almost the entire work of this court consists in hearing what are known as appealed cases. These are cases that have already been tried in the lower United States courts or in the courts of one of the states, and have been properly brought up, or appealed, to the Supreme Court for a final determination.

The United States Supreme Court is the highest court of our nation. It is perhaps the most powerful court in the world. Its justices are men of great learning in the law and of integrity and character above reproach. A seat upon the Supreme Bench, as it is called, is one of the highest honors in the gift of the nation. Everybody in Virginia should be proud to reflect that the greatest justice this court has ever known was John Marshall of Virginia. From 1801 until the time of his death in 1835 he presided over the Supreme Court as its Chief Justice. In the opinions which he handed down during these years, he explained more clearly than anyone else the real meaning of our national constitution, and the true nature of the federal government which it created.

The Supreme Court holds its sessions in the capitol at Washington. It is a solemn, dignified, and impressive court of justice.

THE CIRCUIT COURTS OF APPEAL. For judicial purposes Congress has divided the entire country into nine circuits, a number of states being included in each circuit. Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina form the fourth judicial circuit of the nation. In each of these nine circuits there is a circuit court of appeals. These courts hear cases that have been appealed from the United States district courts, and in many instances they have the power to determine these cases finally, there being no further appeal to the Supreme Court. These circuit courts of appeal were established to relieve the Supreme Court of a part of its work. In spite of the assistance which they give, the Supreme Court is greatly overburdened with the large number of cases before it. After a case has been carried to this court, it often happens that it cannot be considered for two years or more.

THE DISTRICT COURTS. The lowest and most numerous branch of United States courts are the district courts. In each state Congress has provided for one or more judicial

districts, and in each district there is a United States district court. There are in all about eighty of these district courts. Virginia is divided into two of these national judicial districts. These are known as the Eastern and the Western Districts of Virginia. The court of the Eastern District sits from time to time in Richmond, Norfolk, and Alexandria. The court of the Western District sits in Lynchburg, Danville, Roanoke, Abingdon, Big Stone Gap, Charlottesville, and Harrisonburg.

(*Copyright, Underwood & Underwood*)

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN SESSION

The man standing in the foreground is an attorney who is arguing a case before the court

THE JUDGES OF UNITED STATES COURTS. In addition to the nine justices of the United States Supreme Court, there are in each of the nine judicial circuits from two to four circuit judges, and in each of the eighty judicial districts at least one district judge. All of these justices and judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate.

Unlike the President and Vice-President, United States judges hold office for life, or as the phrase goes, "during good behavior." This method of appointing judges for unlimited terms has one great advantage. When once he has been appointed, a judge holds his office quite independently of the President and Congress. He does not have to seek reappointment, and therefore he does not have to consider politics. He can perform the duties of his office with justice and fairness to all.

THE REMOVAL OF JUDGES BY IMPEACHMENT. If a judge of one of the national courts, or some other high officer of the nation, violates the trust imposed in him, he ought not to remain in office. If, for instance, he accepts a bribe, or betrays the nation to an enemy, or commits some great crime, the people would be unwilling to have such a man continue in office. The constitution makes provision by which such an officer may be removed. This is accomplished by convicting him upon what is known as impeachment. Impeachment is a kind of accusation brought against a judge or other public officer. It is somewhat similar in character to an indictment brought by a grand jury.

The national constitution gives to the House of Representatives the power to impeach any officer of the United States. The Senate is made a court for the trial of such an impeachment, and the officer who has been impeached can be convicted only by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. If convicted, he may be removed from office and forbidden to hold any office of trust in the future.

The House of Representatives has rarely exercised this power to bring impeachments. In 1868 President Johnson was impeached by the House; but the Senate failed to convict him on the charges brought against him. Only six national judges have ever been impeached, and only three of these were convicted and removed from office.

THE JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES COURTS. The constitution itself declares what kinds of cases may be brought before the courts of the United States. It seems unnecessary to enumerate all the different classes of cases that are thus mentioned in the constitution. Some of them are in fact of very little importance. It is highly important, however, to understand in general that the national courts consider certain important classes of cases, and the state courts other important classes.

Let it be said, then, that the national courts determine cases arising under the constitution, the laws, and the treaties of the United States. For example, if one person claims that his patent or his copyright has been violated by another, he brings suit in a national court; for these are rights in which he is protected by the laws of Congress. Again, if a person is accused of counterfeiting United States money, or of stealing from the United States mails, he is tried in a national court, for these are offenses against the laws of the nation. Such cases as these do not come before the state courts, for they do not require the application of state law but of national law.

Cases of one other important class are brought before the courts of the nation. Ordinarily these courts do not interpret and apply the laws of any state. This is the duty of the courts of that state. But suppose a dispute arises between two states, and one of them brings suit against the other. Naturally neither of the states would be willing to have the trial conducted in the courts of the other state. The constitution provides that such a suit may be brought in the United States Supreme Court. The state of Virginia recently brought such a suit against the state of West Virginia to determine a controversy over the debt which Virginia owed at the time when West Virginia was formed into a separate state.

Again, suppose a citizen of one state wishes to sue a citizen of another state. Or suppose a suit arises between a citizen of one of the states and a foreigner. In such cases as these,

the courts of any particular state might be inclined to favor the citizens of that state as against outsiders. It is provided, therefore, that such suits *may* be brought in the national courts, even though they may require the application only of state law.

There are a number of other kinds of cases which may come before the national courts, but these arise much less frequently than those just mentioned. In general, therefore, the cases heard in the United States courts are: (1) those which require the application of the laws of the nation; and (2) those in which, by reason of the character of the parties engaging in the suit, the national courts may be expected to render more impartial decisions than the state courts.

THE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT TO PROTECT THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION AGAINST THE STATES. We have seen that the United States constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that it imposes certain important restrictions upon the powers of the states. Now suppose a state passes a law that deprives a person of his property without paying him justly for it. Or suppose a state law provides for the collection of duties on imports. The national constitution prohibits any state from passing such laws as these. At once, therefore, a conflict arises between the state law and the constitution of the nation. But the constitution, being the "supreme law of the land," must prevail over the state law. The situation is very complicated. How shall a man proceed who has been deprived by some state of a right in which he is protected by the national constitution? This will depend somewhat upon the particular case. It is sufficient to know that ordinarily he brings his suit in a *state* court and asks that court to maintain his rights under the national constitution. If the Supreme Court of the *state* decides that he is *not* protected by the national constitution, he then has the right to carry his case before the United States Supreme Court. This court has the

power to determine the question finally, and the state is compelled to obey its orders. This is the usual method by which we may protect ourselves against the unlawful exercise of powers by any state.

THE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT TO PROTECT THE CONSTITUTION AGAINST CONGRESS. The United States Supreme Court also has the power to protect us against any law which the constitution prohibits Congress from enacting. As we have seen, Congress can exercise only those powers that are given to it either expressly or impliedly by the terms of the constitution. If, for example, Congress should enact a law regulating the public school system of Virginia, the Supreme Court would declare the law unconstitutional and would refuse to enforce it; for Congress is not granted the power to enact such a law.

It is by their refusal to enforce certain laws of the states and of Congress that the courts have preserved the division of powers which the constitution makes between the nation and the states. For whenever the states have exceeded their constitutional powers, they have usually exercised powers that are granted to Congress. And whenever Congress has gone beyond its powers, it has usually attempted to exercise some power reserved to the states.

THE TRIAL OF CASES IN THE NATIONAL COURTS. Cases are tried before the national courts in very much the same way that they are tried in the state courts. Most of the cases in the United States district courts are tried by juries. In a civil suit, there are lawyers on both sides of the case, who argue the case before the court. In a criminal suit, the United States government is usually represented by an officer known as a United States district attorney. It is the duty of this officer to prove the guilt of the person who is accused of a crime against the laws of the nation. One district attorney is appointed in each of the eighty judicial districts.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Explain why the national courts are necessary, in addition to the courts of the states.

2. Have you ever seen the Supreme Court room in the Capitol at Washington? If so, describe it. How many justices sit in this court? How often does it meet? What cases does it consider?

3. Describe the system of national courts in the United States. In what circuit is Virginia? What other states are in this circuit? How many district courts are there in Virginia? Where do these district courts sit? Why were the circuit courts of appeals established?

4. How are the national judges appointed? For what term? Why? Find out, if you can, the name of our present Chief Justice. The names of some of the other justices on the Supreme Bench. Find out, if you can, the names of some of the national judges who sit in the district court and the circuit court of appeals in Virginia.

5. What is meant by impeachment? Why is it necessary? Who has the power to bring impeachments? How must the accused officer be tried? How may he be punished? Tell about the impeachment of President Johnson.

6. What classes of cases may be brought before the national courts? What cases come before the state courts? If you wished to defend some right granted to you by the national constitution, how would you probably proceed? Who would determine your case finally?

7. Explain how the Supreme Court protects the constitution against the states. Against Congress.

CHAPTER XXV

NATIONAL TAXATION

THE NECESSITY FOR NATIONAL TAXATION. Just as our state and local governments find it necessary to raise a large amount of money for their support, so the national government must have revenue in order to maintain the many important services which it undertakes. For one of these services, the postal system, we indeed pay the government *directly;* but even in this department of its work, the government has often spent more than it has collected from the sale of stamps. Most of the other enterprises of the national government are undertaken at enormous expense. There must be money for the support of the army and navy, for constructing defenses along the coasts, and for the erection at Washington of handsome national buildings, such as the Capitol, the White House, the Library of Congress, and the buildings occupied by the various departments of the government. Courts must be maintained throughout the land. Salaries must be paid to the President and Vice-President, the members of Congress, the judges of the courts, the heads of departments, to our diplomatic representatives abroad, and to thousands of less important officials engaged in carrying on the work of the national government.

By the national constitution the government of the United States is given the power to raise its revenue without any assistance or hindrance on the part of the states. There are three principal sources from which the national government secures the revenue it needs.

DUTIES ON IMPORTS. Almost from the beginning of our history as a nation, Congress has laid duties on imports coming from foreign countries into the United States. At

first these duties were small, but today they are quite large. The revenue which the national government collects annually from these customs duties, as they are called, amounts usually to more than two hundred millions of dollars.

Apparently it is the importer of these goods from foreign countries who pays the duties on them when they are unloaded at any port of the United States. In reality, however, the importer adds the amount of the duty to the price charged for his goods. We ourselves actually pay the duty in the increased price of gloves, silks, laces, woolen goods, and many other articles that we buy. This makes the burden of the customs duties appear much lighter, for people do not realize that they are paying these duties as a part of the price they pay for many articles. We call such a tax as this an *indirect* tax. It is much less difficult to collect an indirect tax than a direct tax, for those who purchase the goods and in reality bear the tax do not pay it to an officer in the form of a tax.

For the collection of the customs duties the national government has established customs houses in all the seaports and border towns of the United States. The collection is under the control of the national Treasury Department, and numerous customs officers are employed in this important work of the government.

Why has the national government chosen to raise a large part of its revenue by placing high duties on imports? Many of these imports consist of articles manufactured abroad. In most cases these articles can be manufactured just as well in our own country, although they can be manufactured abroad more cheaply. By imposing large duties upon them these foreign articles are made more expensive. Thus our home manufactures are encouraged and promoted. These high duties on imports are known as a protective tariff, because they "protect" our home industries from articles made more cheaply abroad.

Many people in our country believe that the tariff should be kept high. Others believe that it ought to be low. The Democratic party has in general favored a low tariff, believing that it is, after all, the poorer people who actually bear the burden of high duties.

EXCISE TAXES. In accordance with the power granted by the constitution, Congress has from the beginning laid taxes upon the manufacture of certain articles within the United States. These taxes are known as excise taxes. From this source the national government secures a revenue which in some years has even exceeded by many millions the enormous revenue from the customs duties. The money raised by the excise taxes is known as *internal* revenue, for, unlike the duties on imports, these taxes are laid on goods made *within* the United States.

The principal manufactures upon which excise taxes are laid are spirituous liquors and tobacco. On cigar boxes, for example, there is always a green stamp so placed that the box cannot be opened without breaking and thus destroying the stamp. This stamp represents the excise tax that has been paid upon the manufacture of the cigars. Such taxes are imposed upon the manufacture of liquors and tobacco for two purposes. In the first place, they bring in a large revenue to the government; and in the second place, they raise the price and thus decrease the sale of two articles which are recognized generally to be unnecessary, if not, indeed, injurious to the people.

Like the customs duties, excise taxes are also indirect taxes. They are not borne by the manufacturer who pays them to an officer of the government. To the price of his liquors or tobacco the manufacturer adds the amount of the excise tax, and the purchaser pays the tax in the increased prices of these articles when he buys them.

The numerous officers who attend to the collection of the excise taxes are known as internal revenue officers. Like the

customs officers, they are under the control of the Treasury Department.

TAXES ON INCOMES. Our national government is enormously expensive. It spends annually about $1,000,000,000. Now if the customs duties are greatly lowered, the revenue of the government from this source will naturally be decreased, and some other kind of tax must be imposed to make up the difference. In 1913 the Democratic party in Congress greatly lowered the then existing duties on imports. On many articles the duty was removed entirely. In order to make up for the resulting loss of revenue, they levied, under the authority of the sixteenth amendment to the constitution, which had just been ratified, what is known as an income tax. This is a tax imposed on all persons and corporations in the country and is based upon the amount of their annual incomes. However, those whose incomes are less than a few thousand dollars are not required to pay this tax. Many people believe that this is the most just form of taxation possible, since a person's income is the best test of his ability to pay. The national income taxes are collected by the internal revenue collectors.

RELATION BETWEEN NATIONAL AND STATE TAXATION. The customs duties and the excise and income taxes are not the only forms of taxation which the national government may adopt; but ordinarily they are the only forms employed. In times of war, when the United States government has needed large additions to its revenue, taxes have been imposed on many other things. During the Spanish-American War, for example, stamp taxes were imposed on bank checks, freight bills, Pullman tickets, and other things; but these were withdrawn as soon as possible after the war. During the European War, which began in 1914, our revenue from customs duties was partly interrupted; and the government again imposed stamp taxes on a few things.

Both the states and the national government are prohibited by the constitution from laying duties on exports from the United States; and the states are also forbidden to lay any duties on imports. Nor do the states as a rule lay excise taxes upon the manufacture of liquor and tobacco, although they might levy such taxes if they wished to do so. Thus you see that the states do not interfere with two of the chief sources of the national revenue—the customs duties and the excise taxes. The government of Virginia does, as we have seen, levy taxes on incomes, but most of the states of the Union do not levy such taxes.

On the other hand, the national government does not lay taxes on real estate, personal property, or franchises; nor does it impose poll taxes; and only in rare instances license taxes. These, as we have seen, are among the chief sources of our state and local revenues. It is clear, therefore, that the methods by which the government of the nation and the governments of the states secure their respective revenues are for the most part quite distinct. This has its advantages, for if taxes were laid by both governments on the same things, it might result in excessive taxation.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE TAXING POWER OF CONGRESS. In the exercise of its taxing power, the constitution places two important restrictions upon the national government. In the first place, direct taxes must be apportioned among the states according to their population. The result of this restriction is that Congress has seldom attempted to levy a direct tax. It is far too difficult to apportion such a tax among the states. For example, suppose Congress should attempt to lay a tax on land. This would be a direct tax, for the owner of the land would himself bear the tax. Such a tax would have to be distributed among the forty-eight states according to their population. This would necessitate a different rate of taxation in each of the states

and would require an army of officers to superintend its collection.

The second restriction on the taxing power of Congress is found in the requirement of the constitution that "all duties, imports, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." This means that Congress may not levy a duty on imports brought into New York and refuse to levy the same duty on similar imports brought into Norfolk or San Francisco. No preference can be given to the ports of one state over those of another. Nor may Congress impose an excise tax on one manufacturer of liquors or tobacco and refuse to impose a like tax on another manufacturer of similar articles.

CLASS EXERCISES

1. Who is the postmaster at your post-office? Who pays him for his services? Is there a rural free delivery in your community? Who pays the carrier for his services? How is postal service supported?

2. Who pays for the support of our army? For the building of our battleships? For the construction of coast defences, like Fortress Monroe? Who pays the salaries of the President, the members of Congress, our diplomatic representatives, and all the other officers of the national government? Mention other services undertaken by the United States government which require large expenditures of money. How is this money secured? Explain, then, how we as a people are benefited by the taxes paid to the national government.

3. Find out from your father or some other person in your community whether he pays any taxes directly to the national government.

4. What are imports? Suppose an importer buys gloves in London for one dollar a pair and pays on each pair imported to the United States a duty of sixty cents; what would these gloves probably sell for in American shops? Suppose you buy a pair of them, who pays the duty of sixty cents? Do you realize that you are paying it? Do you pay it directly to the government? Who pays it to the government collector? What kind of tax is this called, and why?

5. Why does the United States government place large duties on imports? Why is this called a "protective tariff"? Explain fully how our protective tariff is meant to encourage home manufactures.

6. Have you ever seen a government stamp on a cigar box? How is this stamp placed, and what does it mean? On the manufacture of what

article besides tobacco are excise taxes levied? Why does the national government place taxes on the manufacture of these articles?

7. Suppose it costs a manufacturer two dollars to make a box of cigars, and suppose the United States government places an excise tax of fifty cents on each box that he makes; what would this box probably sell for in the shops? Who pays the tax of fifty cents? What kind of tax is this called, and why?

8. What is the national income tax?

9. Explain how our national government and our state government secure their revenues from different sources. What is the advantage of this?

10. What are the two great principles of national taxation? What difficulty would the government of the United States meet if it laid a tax on real estate? Suppose a New York importer pays a duty of three dollars a yard on lace worth five dollars a yard; what duty will a Norfolk or Newport News importer pay for the same lace?

11. Who has the power to impose these duties and taxes? Who determines how the money that is raised by these means shall be expended?

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CITIZEN

A SUMMARY. In the preceding pages we have learned that our government is established, first, for the purpose of making and enforcing certain rules that protect us in our rights and in the pursuit of our desires, and, second, for the purpose of supplying certain services which we as individuals could not supply for ourselves. We have seen that government in the United States is established and maintained by the people themselves. We have seen, further, that ours is a somewhat complicated system of government—that certain functions are performed by our national government while certain other functions are performed by the government of our state, and that within our state there are the governments of our local communities, such as counties, cities, and towns, which local governments are subject to the control of the central government of the state. The object of our study has been that we might understand what these several branches of our government are attempting to do for us, how they assist us in the living of our lives, and how they are organized and operated for this purpose.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW. The rules, or laws, which the government makes and enforces impose restrictions upon each of us; but these restrictions are both reasonable and necessary. We must allow the government to restrict us because the rights of others must be considered and protected. We must compel the government to restrict others because our own rights must be considered and protected. It is thus by restricting the liberties of all of us in certain respects that everybody knows what his own rights are and what his legal

obligations are toward his fellowmen. In other words, the reasonable rights of every person are thus protected against the unreasonable demands or desires of every other person.

It must not be thought, however, that our rights under the law remain always the same. They are, on the contrary, subject to change from time to time, as new conditions arise or as people alter their ideas about the reasonableness or justice of this or that law. We have seen, for example, that there was a time when persons were punished for their failure to belong to and support a particular church. Long ago the people decided that this was unjust—that the government had no right to regulate such a matter as this. They therefore repealed the laws on this subject and restored to every person the right of freedom of religion. Again, there was a time when most of the colored people in Virginia and the rest of the Southern states were held in slavery and enjoyed, in consequence, few personal rights. But as a result of the War Between the States slavery was abolished, and the colored people were given the same rights under the law that white people enjoy. In spite of the terrible trial of the war, there is probably no thinking person in the South today who would wish to see the rights of these people taken away from them and the institution of slavery restored.

Again, it was only a short time ago when every person in Virginia had the right to buy and sell intoxicating liquors; but this right has now been taken away because the people of the state thought it was for the best interests of all that everybody should be deprived of this right. To cite only one other instance, there was a time many years ago when persons who could not pay their debts were thrown into prison. The people finally came to realize not only that this form of punishment was often cruelly unjust but also that it actually prevented the person who was thus imprisoned from earning money with which he might be able to pay off his debts.

Illustrations of this kind might be mentioned almost in-

definitely; but this seems unnecessary. Suffice it to say that at the present time we enjoy numerous rights which were formerly denied by the law. On the other hand, we are deprived by the law of many rights which our forefathers enjoyed. And this is as it should be. The conditions under which people live and their views about rights and justice are constantly, though gradually, changing. It is natural, therefore, that they should also change the laws in which these rights and views are embodied. These changes in the laws are not usually made suddenly; they are, on the contrary, made rather slowly. The point to remember is that our rights over against our fellowmen and our duties toward them do not remain fixed and stationary. Our government is a living thing; and like all living things it grows and develops.

It would be a mistake to assume that our obligations toward those with whom we come in contact are regulated entirely by laws. It is only the most important of our rights and duties that the government seeks to control by laws. We have many duties toward our families and our neighbors that we perform, not because the law commands them, but from a sense of kindness and consideration or because we appreciate and understand the difference between right and wrong conduct. If we were content to do for one another only those things which the laws positively require, we should indeed live very wretched community lives.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENTAL SERVICES. Just as our rights under the law are subject to gradual change, so in the course of time has the government gradually undertaken to perform more and more services for the benefit of the people. A century or more ago the government, for example, constructed very few roads and provided no schools. In cities the government did not maintain organized police forces nor fire departments. It did not light and pave and clean the streets, nor remove sewage and garbage and ashes and rubbish from the people's homes. It did not

furnish water nor provide parks. In the course of time, however, the government began to furnish one after another of these services; for the people came to realize how important they were to the welfare of the community, and it seemed appropriate that the government itself should establish and maintain them for the benefit of all.

It is probable, moreover, that as time goes on the government will undertake other services for the common well-being of the people. What these services may be we do not know. Certainly the government will not be likely to rush in and undertake services that are being satisfactorily carried on by private individuals or companies.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUFFRAGE. We have had occasion to note that the people participate in the establishment and maintenance of the government chiefly by casting their ballots at primary elections, when the party candidates are chosen, and at the regular elections, when the officers of the government are chosen from among the party candidates. We have observed, too, that not all the people are permitted to vote—that the women, the children, and some of the men are excluded from this privilege. While the number of persons that are thus excluded in Virginia is very large, it is by no means so large, in proportion to the population of the state, as it formerly was. Time was when in most of the states only those could vote or hold office who owned a certain amount of property and who belonged to a particular church. These qualifications were, however, finally removed; and the suffrage was extended to practically all men who were twenty-one or more years of age. It was only in 1902 that an educational qualification was introduced in Virginia and that the requirement of the payment of poll taxes was made more rigid. These qualifications, which are at the present time found in only a few states of the Union, naturally reduced the number of those who voted in Virginia. In most of the states every male resident adult citizen is

entitled to vote; and in a number of states this privilege has been extended also to women. In other words, it is simply a fact that, for the most part, suffrage qualifications have been gradually reduced in the United States, and that in consequence more and more people have been able to participate in the government by exercising the right to vote. It must be remembered, however, that the people of each state have the power to determine who shall vote in that state. They may even determine who shall vote in the state for congressmen and senators and presidential electors; for the national government has no power to fix the qualifications for suffrage even in national elections.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO TWO GOVERNMENTS. In the beginning of our history as a nation there was considerable rivalry between the national government and the governments of the several states, and there was to some extent a feeling of divided loyalty on the part of the people. This rivalry lasted for many years, and even at the present time many people think that the powers of the states should be carefully and jealously guarded. Others believe that the national government should be given much larger powers than it now enjoys. In spite of this difference of view, everybody now recognizes that there is no longer any question of loyalty involved in this difference. Whether this or that power should be taken away from the states and given to the national government or should be taken away from the national government and given to the states is simply a question of policy. In other words, it is a question as to which of these branches of our government could probably exercise the particular power for the best interests of the people. It is not a question of our greater devotion to our state or to our national government.

In many respects the government of our country or city is closer to us than the central government of our state; and the government of our state is closer to us than that of our nation.

We should not, however, be mislead by this. All of these governments are simply parts of a great whole. Each of them helps us in its own way and within its own sphere of powers. We should be interested in and loyal to each of these governments. We should take pride in the development of our county, our town, or our city; and we should desire to see it have the best government that is possible. As Virginians we have every reason to be proud of our splendid state. We should never fail to remember, however, that the people of the United States are *one* people. We should be happy to know that above all else we are American citizens.

OUR DUTY AS AMERICAN CITIZENS. It is of the utmost importance for each of us to realize that he has a personal part in the scheme of government which we have been studying. All the branches of our government belong to us. Our forefathers created them and we have preserved them. Whether our government, in our community, our state, or our nation, is good and effective or is bad and ineffective depends wholly upon us. It is for this reason that we should understand why our government is established, how it is organized and operated, and what are the ideals that it is seeking to work out for our benefit.

Nearly every day the several branches of our government are settling important questions that are, either directly or indirectly, of importance to every one of us. These questions are discussed in our newspapers and magazines. They are the subject of conversation among intelligent men and women. Many of them can be understood by intelligent boys and girls. All of us should be interested in them. We should study them and try to understand them. We cannot do this, however, unless we have taken time to study and understand the principles of our government. Let each of us bear in mind that the government will not run itself. If we stand aside, absorbed in our own affairs, and let the

government take care of itself, it will surely fall into the hands of corrupt men, who will take advantage of the people's indifference and will use the people's money without regard for the people's interests but for their own selfish ends. If we are to have good government, the people—that is, you and I—must not only understand the government but must also be watchful, interested, and willing to assist in every possible way.

How can we assist? We can study the principles of our government. We can study and endeavor to understand the questions which our government has to face and decide. We can inform ourselves in regard to the candidates who are seeking office, so that we can cast our votes with intelligence. We can use our influence to get the best men nominated for, and elected to, office. When our country needs us, whether to serve on a grand jury or to cast our ballot, or to hold office, or to defend the nation in time of war, we can respond with patriotism and devotion. We can pay our taxes willingly, realizing that the government cannot exist and perform all of its necessary and invaluable services unless it has the money with which to meet expenses. We can obey the laws cheerfully, even though we are occasionally inclined to believe that this or that law is unwise or unjust. These are some of the more commonplace duties which every good American citizen owes to himself and his fellow citizens.

But this is not all. It is not sufficient that we do our duty directly in the matter of carrying on and furthering the interests of the government itself. On more than one occasion in the course of our study we have had occasion to note that the responsibility for the progress and development of a community does not rest wholly upon the government. The government cannot do everything that the community needs. We as individuals and in our private societies and associations can and ought to do not only many things to help the government but also many things for the better-

ment of our community which the government does not undertake at all. Some men do nothing for their community except to cast their votes on election days. Some men do not even do that. Some women and children do nothing for their community either because they are indifferent, or because they think that everything should be done by the government itself, or because they have never stopped to think of the many ways in which they might be of assistance. Such persons are not making the best of their opportunities. They are not living up to the high ideal of citizenship of which they are capable; for this ideal means that we must recognize our responsibilities in return for the privileges that we enjoy by reason of our community life. If we do nothing more, we can at least be energetic and industrious, and thus by our own progress promote the progress of our community. We can at all times be considerate of the rights of others. We can be honest with, and kind to, our fellowmen. And we can greatly improve the appearance of our community by improving the appearance of our own property.

Perhaps of all American citizens the citizen who has been born on foreign soil but has become naturalized in this country owes the greatest amount of loyalty and devotion to the government. We have received him gladly and made him one of us. He has voluntarily accepted our hospitality as a nation. He should show his appreciation by his interest in everything that makes for the betterment of the community in which he has chosen to live; and in time of stress, when perhaps the American nation has been brought into disagreement with some foreign nation, even though that nation be the one under which he was born, his loyalty to America, the country of his voluntary adoption, should be above the possibility of criticism.

INDEX

Accidents, protection against, 11-13.
Adjutant General, 102.
Administrative board, Richmond, 121.
Agriculture, government assistance to, 38-42; State Commissioner of, 98; State Board of, 98, 99; national government assistance, 155; U. S. Department of, 197.
Alaska, government of, 173.
Aldermen, 120.
Ambassadors, 137, 193.
Amendment, of Va. constitution, method of, 72; of national constitution, 161, 162.
Amendments of national constitution, seventeen, 162-165.
American citizens, the making of, 139, 140; who are, 163, 164; duties of, 220-222.
Annapolis Convention, 159.
Appeals, meaning of, 21, 106, 200, 201.
Appointment, Governor's power of, 94; President's power of, 191.
Army, U. S., 140, 142.
Articles of Confederation, 158, 159.
Assessment, of property, 114, 115; special, 36, 129.
Assessors, land, 114.
Attorney General, of Va., 94, 96, 97; of U. S., 196, 197.
Attorneys, commonwealth's, 109, 114, 121; U. S. district, 197, 206.
Auditor, of Va., 97; Second, 97.

Bail, 19, 20.
Ballot, 77.
Ballot box, 77.
Banks, control over state, 99; postal savings, 151; national, 152-154; reserve, 153.
Berkeley, Governor, 43.
Bill, meaning of, 88, 182.
Blacksburg, 551.
Board of control, Norfolk, 121.
Boards, of visitors, 102; see also *State Board.*
Boss, political, 91.
Boys' corn clubs, 42.

Cabinet, President's, 194, 195.
Campaign, political, 188, 18
Canal, Panama, 143, 147.
Canning clubs, girls', 42
Cape Charles, 143.
Cape Henry, 143.
Capitol, of Va., 90, 91; of U. S., 134.
Cattle, diseases of, 40, 41.
Census, 177.
Charities, 14, 102.
Charlottesville, 51.
Charter, of corporations, 99; meaning of city, 120.
Circuit courts, in Va., 106; of appeals, U. S., 201.
Circuits, judicial, in Va., 106; U. S. judicial, 201.
Cities, life in, 2; why people live in, 3; preservation of peace in, 10; accidents in, 12, 13; health in, 24, 28, 29; drinking water in, 24, 25; protection of milk and foods in, 25, 26; fire departments in, 32; education in, 50, 51; libraries in, 54; streets in, 62-65; parks in, 66; nomination of officers in, 85; courts in, 105, 106; growth of, in Va., 118; problems of, 119-120; government of, 120-

124; distinguished from towns, 124, 125; taxation in, 131.
Citizenship, duties of, 79, 220-222; a qualification for voters, 74, 75; granted to aliens, 139, 140, 197; granted to negroes, 163, 164.
City manager, 124.
City planning, 62.
Civil Service Commisson, U. S., 198.
Civil suit, meaning of, 109.
Clerk, of county, 114.
Cleveland, Grover, 141.
Coast defenses, 143.
Collectors, of customs, 209; of internal revenue, 210, 211.
Colonies, government of, 68, 157; union of, 157.
Colored people, freedom of, from slavery, 17, 163; schools for, 49, 52; citizenship granted to, 163, 164; protection for, 164.
Commerce, foreign, 137, 145; interstate, 145-148, 198; U. S. Department of, 197.
Commission plan of city government, 122, 123.
Commissioner, of Agriculture and Immigration, 94, 98; Dairy and food, 99; of Labor and Industrial, Statistics, 100; of Highways, 100; of Health, 100; of State Hospitals, 102.
Commissioners of revenue, county, 114, 115.
Committees, of General Assembly, 88, 89; of political parties, 82, 188, 189; of city councils, 121; of Congress, 181, 182.
Commonwealth's attorney, 109, 114, 121.
Community, definition of, 2; why people live in, 3; liberty in, 14, 15; how schools help, 52, 53; improvement of appearances of, 59, 60, 63, 64.
Congress, powers of, 168, 169; restrictions on, 169-171; two houses of, 175; representation in, 175-178; sessions of, 179, 180; organization of, 180, 181; committee system in, 181, 182; protection against, by courts, 206.
Congress of Confederacy, 90.
Congressional districts, 175-177.
Congressmen, election of, 175-177; term of, 177; qualifications of, 180; nomination of, 178, 179; power of, over appointments, 191, 192.
Consolidated schools, 48, 49.
Constables, 10, 31, 93, 114.
Constitution, origin of, 68, 69, definition of, 69; history of, in Va., 69, 70; of 1902, 70, 71; importance of, in Va., 71; amendment of, 72; of the nation, 157-166; framing of national, 159, 160; adoption of national, 160, 161; opposition to national, 160; amendment of national, 161, 162; seventeen amendments to national, 162-165; importance of national, 165, 166; national, is supreme law of the land, 168; protection of national, 205, 206.
Consuls, 145.
Consuls general, 145.
Continental Congress, 157, 158.
Convention, constitutional, in Va., 69-71; of political parties, 83-85; Annapolis, 159; constitutional, of 1787, 159; ratifying, of Va., 160; national party, 188.
Copyrights, 154.
Corn clubs, boys', 42.
Coroners, 115.

Corporation Commission of Va., 99.
Corporations, 99.
Corporation courts, 106.
Council, city, 120, 122; town, 125.
Councilmanic plan, of city government, 122.
Councilmen, 120, 122.
Counties, roads in, 59; courts in, 105, 106; reason for, in Va., 111, 112; powers of, 112; government of, 112-116; history of, 116.
Courts, necessity for, 104; protection in, 104, 105; system of, in Va., 105-108; judges of, in Va., 108; necessity for national, 200; system of national, 200-202; judges of national, 202, 203; jurisdiction of national, 204, 205.
Criminal case, meaning of, 109.
Crop pests, 40.
Customs, see *Duties*.

Dairy and Food Commissioner, 99.
Deaf and blind institutes, 52.
Delegates, election of members of House of, 86, 87.
Democratic party, see *Political Parties*.
Departments, of government, 86; executive, of state government, 96-102; executive, of national government, 195-198.
Desires of individuals, 3, 4; government assistance for, 5.
Diplomatic representatives, 137, 193.
Diseases, protection against, 23, 24.
District of Columbia, government of, 173.
District attorney, U. S., 197, 206.
District courts, U. S., 201, 202.
Division of powers, between national government and states, 167, 168.
Division superintendents, of schools, 98, 115, 124.
Drinking water, protection against impure, 24, 25.
Dunmore, Lord, 68.
Duties, customs, 208-210.

Education, why the government promotes, 43; history of, in Va., 43-46; in New England, 44, 45; private and public, 46, 47; aims of government in, 48-50; in cities, 50, 51; higher, 51, 52; State Board of, 97; see also *Schools*.
Election, places of, 76; officers of, 76; see also *Votes* and *Voters*.
Electors, presidential, 185-188.
Electrocution, 22.
Eminent domain, definition of, 34; power of, given to railroads, 34; distinguished from taxation, 34, 128.
Engineer, road, 58, 59.
Established church, 16, 17.
Examinations, for physicians, and pharmacists, 26, 102; for teachers, 98; for dentists, 102; for graduate nurses, 102; for veterinarians, 102; for embalmers, 102; for lawyers, 102.
Examiners, State Boards of, 98, 102.
Excise taxes, 210, 211.
Executive department, of state government, 86, 96-102; of national government, 195-198.
Experimental farms, 41.
Ex post facto law, 170, 172.

Family group, 2; responsibility of, toward education, 47.
Farmers' institutes, 42.
Farming communities, 3.
Farms, government assistance to, 38-42; drinking water on, 24; appearance of, 59-62.
Farmville, 51.
Federal government, meaning of, 167-168; 219, 220.
Federal reserve banks, 153, 154.
Federal Reserve Board, 198.
Federal Trade Commission, 198.
Fertilizers, control of, 38.
Fires, protection against, 12. 13, 32, 33.
Food inspection, by state government, 25, 26, 99; by national government, 148, 197.
Foreign affairs, control of, 136-138; President's power over, 193.
Forests, national, 155.
Fortress Monroe, 143.
Franchise taxes, 130, 131.
Franklin, Benjamin, 159.
Fredericksburg, 51.
Freedom, of speech, 15, 16, 71, 171; of religion, 16, 17, 171; of person, 14, 17, 163.

General Assembly, houses of, 86; organization of, 86-88; sessions of, 87; powers of, 89; meetings of, 90.
Geography of Va., 111.
Girls' canning clubs, 42.
Government, why established, 6-8; protection of life and liberty by, 10-15; liberty under, 14-17; protection of health by, 23-29; protection of property by, 30-33; control over property by, 33-36; ownership of property by, 36; promotion of agriculture by, 38-42; promotion of education by, 43-54; control over roads, streets, and parks by, 56-66; responsibility of, for streets, 65; organization of, 86; of counties, 111-116; of cities, 118-125; support of, 127-131; necessity for national, 135; functions of national, 136-155; under Articles of Confederation, 158, 159; organization of national, 175-206; development of, 217, 218.
Governor, election of, 93; term of, 93; qualifications of, 93; powers and duties of, 94, 95.
Grand jury, 20, 21, 171.

Habeas Corpus, 170.
Hamilton, Alexander, 159.
Harbors, improvement of, 147, 148, 196.
Harrisonburg, 51.
Hawaii, government of, 173.
Health, desire for, 3; protection of, by government, 23-29; state department of, 100.
High Schools, 42, 48, 51.
Hospitals, 23; for insane, 101.
House of Burgesses, 68.
House of Delegates, 86, 87; representation in, 86, 87.
House of Representatives, 175-177; representation in, 175-177; power of, to choose President, 188; power of, to bring impeachments, 203.

Immigration, 138, 139, 197.
Impeachment, 203.
Implied powers of Congress, 168, 169.
Income taxes, state, 130; national, 164, 211.
Indictment, by grand jury, 20, 21, 171.
Initiative, 77, 78.

Innocence, presumption of, 19.
Insane, hospitals for, 101.
Inspection, of milk and foods, 25, 26, 148; of fertilizers, 38; of seeds, 40; of cattle, 40; of boats, 146; of meats, 148.
Interior, U. S. Department of, 197.
Internal Revenue, 210, 211.
Interstate commerce, 145, 148; Commission, 198.
Institutes, farmers', 42.

Jefferson, Thomas, 17, 43, 51, 56, 57, 159, 189.
Judges, appointment of, in Va., 108; term of in Va., 108; appointment of national, 202, 203; term of national, 203; impeachment of national, 203.
Judiciary department, of state, 86; of national government, 200.
Jurisdiction, of various courts in Va., 105-108; of various national courts, 200-202, 204, 205.
Jury, right of trial by, 21, 171.
Justice, U. S. Department of, 196, 197.
Justices of peace, 105, 106, 114.

Labor, protection of, 13, 27, 28; state Bureau of, 100; Commissioner of, 100; promotion of interests of, 148; U. S. Department of, 197.
Land assessors, 114.
Laws, how made in Va., 88, 89; execution of, in Va., 93-102; interpretation of, in Va., 104; county, 112; city, 120, 121; how made in Congress, 182, 183; execution of national, 185, 198; interpretation of national, 200.
Legislative department, 86, 175.
Legislature, see *General Assembly* and *Congress*.
Libel, protection against, 16.
Liberty, desire for, 3; meaning of, in a community, 14, 15; protection of, 15-17, 170-172; growth of, 215-217.
Libraries, 54.
Lieutenant-Governor, 88, 94.
Life, desire for, 3; protection of, 10-22.
Life-saving stations, 147.
Lighthouses, 146, 147.
Liquors, prohibition of sale of, 26, 27; taxation on manufacture of, 210.
Literary Fund, 43, 44.
Lobbying, 91, 92.
Local option, formerly in Va., 26, 27.

Madison, James, 17, 159.
Magisterial districts, 112, 114.
Marion, 101.
Marshall, John, 201.
Mayor, powers of, 121-124; election of, 121; under commission government, 124; town, 125.
Medical College of Va., 51.
Message, of Governor, 94; of President, 189.
Military Academy, U. S., 196.
Militia, 11, 95, 140-142.
Milk, protection against impure, 25, 26.
Ministers, foreign, 137, 193.
Mints, U. S., 152.
Money system, national control of, 151-152.

National banks, 152, 153.
National constitution, see *Constitution*.
National courts, see *Courts*.
Naturalization, 139-140, 197.
Naval Academy, U. S., 196.
Navigation, control of, 146, 147.

Navy, U. S. Department of, 196.
New England, education in, 44-46; township government in, 111, 112.
Newport News, 52, 118.
Nomination, by parties, 82-85, of President, 186-188; of senators, 178, 179; of congressmen, 178, 179.
Norfolk, view of, 5; library in, 54; population of, 118.
Normal schools, 51, 52.

Panama Canal, 143, 147.
Parcel post, 150.
Pardoning power, of Governor, 95; of President, 193.
Parks, in cities, 66.
Patents, 154.
Pavements, street, 62-65.
Penitentiary, 101.
Petersburg, 52, 101.
Philippine Islands, 143, 173.
Platform, party, 188, 189.
Playgrounds, 66.
Police, in cities, 10, 31, 93, 121.
Political parties, origin of, 81; necessity for, 81; organization of, 82; state and local conventions of, 83, 179, 186; primary elections of, 83-85, 179; control of, over Congress, 178, 179; control of, over presidential elections, 186-188; national convention of, 188.
Polls, 76.
Poll tax, 76, 131.
Poor, protection of, 14; superintendent of, 114.
Porto Rico, government of, 173.
Postal savings banks, 150.
Postal service, 148-151; control of, 148; support of, 208.
Postmaster General, 196.
Post Office Department, 196.
Precincts, election, 76.
President, election of, 163, 185-188; nomination of, 188; powers of, 189-193; importance of position of, 193, 194; qualifications of, 194; successor to, 194.
Presidential electors, 185-188.
Primary elections, meaning of, 83, 84; in Va., 83-85; for nomination of state officers, 83, 85; for nomination of local officers, 83, 85; for nomination of U. S. senators, 178, 179; for nomination of congressmen, 178, 179; for nomination of presidential electors, 186; for nomination of delegates to national conventions, 188.
Procedure, in courts of Va., 108, 109; in national courts, 206.
Prohibition, in Va., 26, 27.
Property, definition of, 4, 30; uses of, 4, 33; in land and buildings, 30; protection of, by government, 30-33; control over, by government, 33-36; improvement of, by government improvements, 35, 36; ownership of, by government, 36; taxes on, 129, 130; real, 129; personal, 130; exempt from taxation, 130.
Protective tariff, 209, 210.
Public lands, 155.

Quarantine regulations, 23, 24.

Radford, 51.
Railroads, protection against, 34, 35, 99; power of eminent domain given to, 34; state control of, 34, 35, 99; national control over interstate, 145, 146, 198.
Real estate, taxes on, 129, 130.

The price of this book is fixed by contract with the State and any deviation therefrom should be reported to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

RETAIL PRICE - - - 43 Cents